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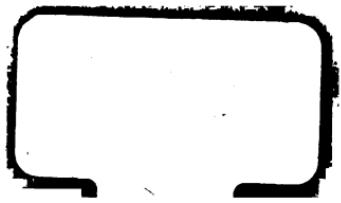
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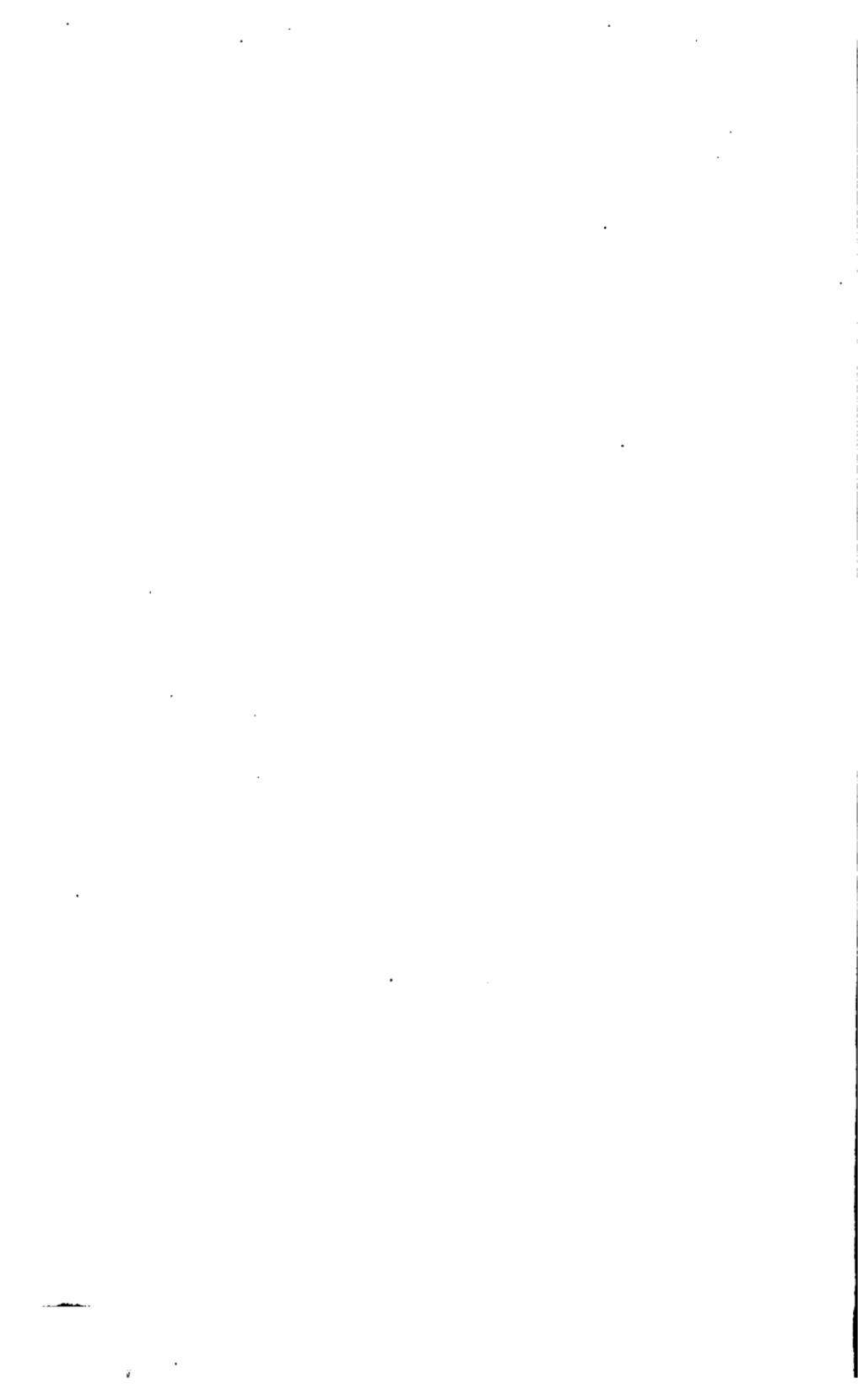
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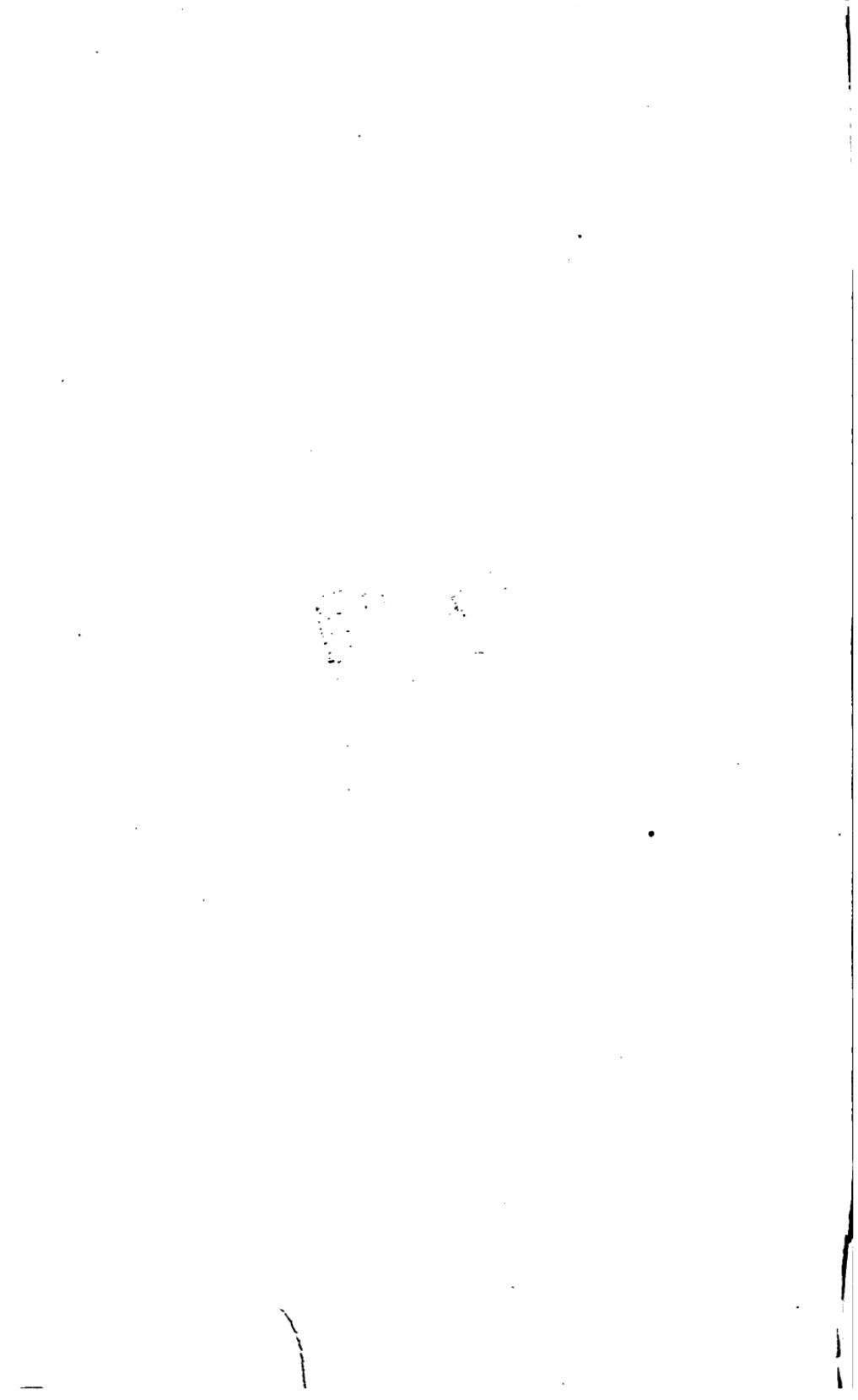






CHESTER
ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC
SOCIETY'S JOURNAL.

(Chester)







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JOURNAL
OF THE
CHESTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL
AND
HISTORIC SOCIETY.



NEW SERIES.—VOL. I.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1887.



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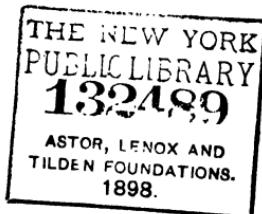
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The Council of the Chester Archaeological and Historic Society desire it to be known that the Authors of any papers, printed in the Society's Journal, are alone responsible for the statements or opinions contained in such papers.

This volume has been edited by Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., elected Hon. Editorial Secretary at the Annual Meeting, held on the 14th May, 1887.

ROY WDM
OLIVER
VIAAGLI

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THE ANCIENT CHARTERS AND DEEDS AT HIGH LEGH, CHESHIRE, BELONGING TO LIEUT.-COL. H. CORNWALL LEGH.

BY J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.

MY object in directing attention to the early charters and deeds, belonging to Lieut.-Col. Cornwall Legh, is in the first instance once more to reiterate the great value of "original documents" in all historical enquiries, and secondly to show what interesting documents are frequently to be met with in the muniment rooms of old county families, and how important it is that these should be properly cared for and preserved. The labours of the Historical MSS. Commission have resulted in bringing to light very many documents of great historical value, but the commission does not deal with documents of purely local interest, which are therefore left to the local historian, antiquary, and genealogist.

HIGH LEGH is a township in the parish of Rostherne, about five miles from Knutsford, and it is very remarkable that in the thirteenth century the manor was held in moieties by two branches of the Legh family, whose descendants own the two halls, the East Hall and the West Hall, as they are called, at the present day. The

Leghs of the East Hall held one half of the manor of Legh; but the other moiety was subdivided in the fourteenth century, the Leights of the West Hall now owning one-fourth of the original manor, and Lord Egerton of Tatton the other fourth. As far as my researches go, these two families of the Leghs do not appear to be descended from any common ancestor, or, if this has been the case, the ancestor is so far back as not to be traceable. They have lived side by side for the past six hundred years, and the only difference now is that the members of one family spell their name LEGH and those of the other LEIGH. So independent have they always been one of another, that whilst Lieut.-Col. Cornwall Legh, of the East Hall, has his own private chapel in his grounds, Captain Egerton Leigh, of the West Hall, has also his own private chapel in his grounds. The tenants of the one estate attend the one, and those of the other, the other. And yet the two Halls are so near each other that the grounds are only separated by a high brick wall, and the fields belonging to the one estate run into and among those belonging to the other in a most confusing manner.

The following lines, written by the Rev. A. J. Richardson in 1879, give such a good picture of this curious state of affairs at High Legh that I cannot refrain from quoting them here:¹

'Tis an odd state of things that a stranger would see,
If he came on a visit perchance to High Leigh;
To his mind it would cause great confusion and bother,
To find things so mix'd up the one with the other:
Two Establishments separate, two Halls, and two Squires,
Two parsons, two chapels, two bells, and two choirs !

¹ I have already quoted them before in a paper relating to the West Hall deeds, read before the Manchester Literary Club, and published in the *Manchester Quarterly* for April, 1883.

Whilst the magnates themselves couldn't fairly agree
As to spelling correctly the name of "High Leigh";
One stoutly insisting on "i" with the "e,"
The other on nothing between "e" and "g";
On map and on sign-post you'd meet with the "i,"
P.O.O.'s were without it and folks wondered why;
Then the agent found out, when he took the big ledger down,
The estates all mixed up with the farms of Lord Egerton;
And directions for letters and parcels were wrapp'd in
A regular muddle 'twixt Colonel and Captain;
For if to "the Hall" they should chance be address'd,
It was doubtful if meant for the "East" or the "West";
But for rights of precedence 'twas doubtful which had 'em
For neither could trace up much further than Adam!
So what you're about, be particular, please,
For Cheshire is full of cats, cheeses, and Leighs,
Leghs of Lyme, Leghs of Adlington, everything "Legh,"
From the innermost bounds to the banks of the Dee;
And from dropping a letter what comes there's no telling,
So you'd best mind your "i," and look after your spelling.

High Leigh, 1879.

THE EAST HALL DEEDS are most voluminous, and when they were placed in my hands by their owner for examination and arrangement, they filled two large boxes. In addition to this I found that certain deeds, formerly in the collection, were not amongst those first sent, and further searches were made in the muniment room at High Legh, which finally resulted in another box, full of deeds and papers, being forwarded to me. Both lots were in the greatest possible confusion, and much time and trouble were expended in getting them properly sorted and arranged. Each deed was then read through, and a short abstract of its contents was endorsed on its back. They were then classified into groups, and arranged in chronological order in each group, and were afterwards numbered consecutively. The endorsements on the backs of the deeds, together with

the names of the witnesses to the earlier ones, were subsequently entered in two thick folio volumes,¹ with their respective numbers, so that it is now possible to see at a glance what the deeds relate to, and to pick out any particular deed by its number. There is now, therefore, no fear of any deeds being lost or mislaid, as if taken out for examination they can at once be replaced in their proper bundles.

This collection contains in all about eleven hundred deeds² and documents, independent of a number of loose papers, many of much interest, which have been arranged and bound up in four folio volumes, entitled the High Legh MSS. For convenience of reference this mass of material has been divided into the following groups, each group containing many packets of deeds, arranged chronologically.

GROUP No. I.

CHARTERS AND DEEDS RELATING TO THE FAMILY OF LEGH OF THE EAST HALL, FROM C. 1230 TO 1828.

These are arranged as follows:—

- Bundle No. 1. Fifteen deeds before the year 1300.
- Bundle No. 2. Twenty-two deeds between the years 1300 and 1340.
- Bundle No. 3. Thirty-three deeds between the years 1346 and 1398.

¹ One of these is a catalogue of the Legh family deeds and papers, with those relating to High Legh, Swinehead, and the other is a catalogue of miscellaneous deeds contained in Groups III., IV., and V.

² The deeds in Groups I. and II. are numbered consecutively Nos. 1 to 429. This is exclusive of the contents of the four folio volumes of the High Legh MSS., the pedigrees and other rolls, &c. As other bundles of leases, &c., may some day be added to Group II., the numbers between 430 and 499 have not been filled up. Group III., the miscellaneous Cheshire deeds, therefore, begins with No. 500, and the deeds in that group and in Groups IV. and V. come down to No. 1,086. In addition to these, there are nearly a hundred deeds and papers relating to Birstall (co. York), Wakefield, Fiskerton, &c., not arranged or numbered. Thus the grand total of eleven hundred documents is shown to be rather below than above the mark.

Bundle No. 4. Twenty seven deeds between the years 1402 and 1449.

Bundle No. 5. Twenty-nine deeds between the years 1452 and 1464.

Bundle No. 6. Twenty-eight deeds between the years 1465 and 1535.

Bundle No. 7. Twenty-nine deeds between the years 1540 and 1600.

Bundle No. 8. Twenty-seven deeds between the years 1601 and 1676.

Bundle No. 9. Twenty deeds between the years 1678 and 1705.

Bundle No. 10. Seventeen deeds between the years 1706 and 1731.

Bundle No. 11. Eleven deeds between the years 1738 and 1761.

Bundle No. 12. Seventeen deeds between the years 1762 and 1828.

Bundle No. 13. Miscellaneous papers, 1724 to 1769.

Making in all two hundred and seventy-five deeds relating to the Legh family alone between the years 1230 and 1828, a period of six hundred years.

Nine pedigree rolls relating to the Legh family.

Four pedigree rolls relating to the Cornwall family.¹

Two early rentals of the Legh estates.

The four folio volumes of miscellaneous papers recently bound up together and lettered the *High Legh MSS.*—

Vol. 1. Miscellaneous family papers, letters, &c.

Vol. 2. Papers, letters, &c., relating to the Leghs of the East Hall, the Cornwalls of Burford, &c.

Vol. 3. Papers and documents relating to Rostherne Church.

Vol. 4. Assessments for the land tax in Bucklow Hundred for the year 1734.

¹ George Legh, Esq., married, about the year 1730, Anna Maria, the daughter and heiress of Francis Cornwall, Esq., the last titular Baron of Burford, co. Salop.

GROUP No. II.

MISCELLANEOUS DEEDS AND PAPERS RELATING TO HIGH LEGH
SWINEHEAD, AND THE ADJACENT TOWNSHIPS.

Deeds relating to the tithes of High Legh, Swinehead, &c., 1537 to 1753. Nine deeds.

Deeds relating to Swinehead, and the Leghs of Swinehead, 1623 to 1713. Five deeds.

Leases of lands in Swinehead, Sworton, Comberbach, &c., 1562 to 1726. Fifty-four deeds arranged in two bundles.

Leases of lands in High Legh, 1609 to 1765. Six deeds.¹

Deeds relating to Millington, Old Greave Lane, and High Legh (the Wilkinson family), 1605 to 1691. Twelve deeds.

Deeds relating to the Wood Fields in High Legh, 1664 to 1687. Eleven deeds.

Deeds and papers relating to the Leghs of Adlington, co. Chester,² 1670 to 1699. Eleven in number.

Three deeds relating to the family of Chambres of Plás Chambres, co. Denbigh,³ 1710 to 1740.

Office copies of wills, 1611 to 1769. Sixteen in number.

There are several important wills amongst these, of which the following may be noted: Sir Gilbert Ireland, of the Hutt, co. Lanc., Knt., dated 30th January, 1625[-6];⁴ Dame Mary Bolles, of Heath Hall, in the parish of Warmfield, co. York, "Baronetesse,"⁵ dated 4th May, 1662, proved 23rd May, 1662; Sir Richard Brooke, of

¹ There are many bundles of old leases at High Legh which I did not take away for examination.

² Richard Legh, of High Legh, Esq., married in 1676 Mary, daughter of Thomas Legh, of Adlington, the elder, Esq.

³ John Chambres, of Plás Chambres, Esq., married in 1710 Mary, daughter of Richard Legh, of High Legh, Esq.

⁴ The original of this will is not now to be found at Chester, although the inventory of his effects dated 1628 is there, together with the accounts rendered by the Lady Barbara Ireland, widow and executrix, dated 1632. She was daughter of George Legh, of High Legh, Esq.

⁵ The only lady who was ever created a "Baronetess." A very interesting will, which well deserves to be printed.

Norton, co. Chester, Bart., dated 8th June, 1703; Sir Samuel Daniel, of Over Tabley, co. Chester, Knt., dated 19th February, 1723[-4]; Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton, of Combermere, co. Chester, Bart., dated 20th May, 1729. These are quite independent of the Legh wills, of which there are a great many among the Legh deeds in Group I.

Miscellaneous documents, bundles of old letters, &c.

Deeds relating to the Cornwall family, 1432 to 1738. Nineteen deeds, all but three of which are later than 1700.

To the two earliest deeds fine armorial seals of the Cornwall family are still attached in good preservation.¹

A bundle of deeds and papers relating to two Dutch bonds for 20,000 and 30,000 "gilderns," dated 26th August, 1579.²

Four rolls relating to Bucklow Hundred, co. Chester.

Amongst these is an old court roll of the court of Sir John Holcroft, Knt. for the Hundred of Bucklow, held at Bucklow Hill, 18th October, 1547; and three subsidy rolls for Bucklow Hundred, 1576, 1663, and 1664, which are documents of much local value.

A folio volume, entitled *The Swinehead Chartulary*, containing copies of deeds relating to the family of Legh of Swinehead, in High Legh, from c. 1215 to 1619, in which year it was written by George Owen, York Herald.³

¹ I exhibited these at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, in London, on the 16th December, 1886, and an account of them with notes by C. S. Perceval, Esq., F.S.A., appears in the Proceedings of the Society, vol. xi., pp. 217-20. It is most unfortunate that no other early Cornwall deeds are now in Colonel Legh's possession. There ought to be a large collection somewhere, as the family occupied an influential position in the county of Salop for over five hundred years.

² These bonds, given by the Government of the Netherlands, had become the property of Colonel Ralph Harrison, who died in May, 1656, and whose daughter and heir, Katherine, married for her *third* husband, c. 1673, Dr. Thomas Legh, of London, a younger son of Henry Legh, of High Legh, Esq. They were never redeemed by the Government of the Netherlands.

³ This valuable MS. has recently been handsomely bound in full vellum.

GROUP No. III.

MISCELLANEOUS CHESHIRE DEEDS.

Deeds relating to Alpraham,¹ co. Chester, 1312 to 1508.
 Three deeds.

Deeds relating to Strehull, co. Chester, c. 1250 to 1677.
 Twenty-six deeds.

Deeds relating to Mere, co. Chester, c. 1250 to 1677.
 Seventeen deeds.

Deeds relating to Lymm, co. Chester, c. 1280 to 1742.
 Seventeen deeds.

Deeds relating to Knutsford, co. Chester, c. 1280 to 1702.
 Arranged in three bundles. Fifty-three deeds.

Deeds relating to the family of Cocker of Pickmere, co.
 Chester, c. 1300 to 1595. In two bundles. Forty deeds.

Deeds relating to the family of Golburne of Golburne, co.
 Chester, c. 1300 to 1648. In two bundles. Seventeen
 deeds.

Deeds relating to Manley, co. Chester, 1500 to 1638. In
 two bundles. Fifty-one deeds.

Deeds relating to Hargreave, in the parish of Neston, co.
 Chester, 1577 to 1685. Twenty-five deeds.

Miscellaneous Cheshire deeds, c. 1320 to 1740. In two
 bundles. Thirty-four deeds.

Thus making in all two hundred and eighty-four deeds
 relating to various places and families in Cheshire, inde-
 pendent of High Legh and the Legh family.

GROUP No. IV.

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS OF CHESHIRE DEEDS.

An important collection of deeds relating to Thornton-in-
 the-Moors, co. Chester, c. 1215 to 1796, arranged in seven
 bundles:—

¹ There are many deeds relating to Alpraham amongst the Legh deeds, as John de Legh married, c. 1312, Joan, daughter and co-heir of Matthew de Alpraham, and this estate remained in a branch of the Legh family for many generations. John de Legh (the second son of the above-named John and Joan), who was called "John de Legh of Alpraham," was the ancestor of the Leghs of Northwood referred to on p. 16.

Bundle No. 1. Deeds relating to the manor of Thornton-in-the-Moors, c. 1215 to 1473. Twenty-five deeds.

Bundle No. 2. Deeds between 1502 and 1651. Nineteen deeds.

Bundle No. 3. Deeds between 1661 and 1699. Ten deeds.

Bundle No. 4. Deeds between 1700 and 1778. Thirteen deeds.

Bundle No. 5. Deeds between 1700 and 1720. Seven deeds.

Bundle No. 6. Deeds relating to Thornton Mill, 1728 to 1783.

Bundle No. 7. Leases relating to Thornton-in-the-Moors, 1791 to 1796.

A large collection of deeds relating to the manor of Sale, co. Chester, and the family of Massey of Sale, 1335 to 1784, arranged in three bundles:—

Bundle No. 1. Deeds between 1335 and 1568. Thirty-seven deeds.

Bundle No. 2. Deeds between 1614 and 1691. Fifteen deeds.

Bundle No. 3. Deeds between 1692 and 1784. Thirty-one deeds.

Old Court Book of the Manor of Sale, 1618 to 1623, wretchedly written and kept by William Williamson, Steward of the Court.

GROUP No. V.

DEEDS RELATING TO LANCASHIRE, YORKSHIRE, STAFFORDSHIRE, AND LONDON, ETC.

These are arranged in the following bundles:—

Lancashire Deeds.

Deeds relating to the office of "Aulnager"¹ in the county of Lancaster, 1539 to 1572, three in number.

¹ Thomas Legh, of High Legh, Esq., was appointed to the office of "Aulnager," in the county palatine of Lancaster, in succession to his brother-in-law, William Trafford, of the Garrett, Esq.

Deeds relating to Manchester and Salford, 1420 to 1655.
Sixteen deeds.

Deeds relating to the family of Trafford, of the Garrett,¹ Manchester, and their lands in Manchester, and Taxal, co. Chester, 1530 to 1575. Eight deeds.

Miscellaneous deeds relating to Manchester, 1679 to 1741.
Ten deeds.

Deeds relating to Barton-upon-Irwell,² co. Lancaster, 1583 to 1776. Arranged in two bundles. Forty-one deeds.

Leases relating to Barton-upon-Irwell,² 1631 to 1798. Twelve deeds.

Papers relating to a trial at Lancaster about lands in Barton,³ 1725.

Modern deeds and papers relating to Barton-upon-Irwell.³

Leases relating to Openshaw,⁴ &c., near Manchester, 1588 to 1766. Nine deeds.

Miscellaneous Deeds.

Deeds and papers relating to Quick and Saddleworth,⁵ co. York, 1557 to 1718. Twelve documents.

Miscellaneous deeds relating to Lancashire, Derbyshire, London, &c., 1515 to 1751. Seven deeds.

Early deeds relating to Colwich, co. Stafford,⁶ c. 1250 to 1553.
Twenty-two deeds. Some of these deeds have good seals attached to them.

Leases of messuages in London, 1657 and 1732.

Deeds and papers relating to Birstall, co. York,⁵ and other places in Yorkshire, 1389 to 1720. Tied up in three

¹ The Thomas Legh, Esq., named in the note on p. 9, married Isabel, one of the daughters and co-heirs of George Trafford, of the Garrett, Esq.

² George Legh, of High Legh, Esq., married, c. 1587, for his *seconia* wife, Anne, daughter and co-heir of John Booth, of Barton-upon-Irwell, Esq.

³ These lands formed part of the estates of the Traffords, of the Garrett, near Manchester, which passed to the Leghs. See note ¹.

⁴ George Legh, of High Legh, Esq., married, c. 1580, for his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Peter Leycester, of Tabley, Esq., by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter and heir of Edward Colwych, of Colwych, co. Stafford, Esq.

packets, but not yet arranged or endorsed. An interesting collection.

Miscellaneous deeds, leases, &c., relating to Wakefield, co. York.⁵ Of little or no interest.

Deeds relating to Fiskerton, co. Nottingham, 1640 to 1680.⁶ Of little or no interest.

I. *The Legh Family Deeds.*

The earliest deed relating to the Legh family is, like most early deeds, undated, but from the character of the handwriting and the names of the witnesses⁷ it may be put down to about the year 1230. It is a quitclaim to Adam de Legh (*de Lega*) of a bovate of land in the vill of Leye. The seal attached to this deed is still quite perfect, bearing a large fleur-de-lys, a common device at that period. The next deed is a few years later, about 1245, and by it Adam de Legh grants half a bovate of land in "the vill of Ley," to Richard, his son. Attached to this is a seal of dark green wax, bearing a star of eight points and the inscription S' ADE DE LEE. One of the witnesses to this deed is Robert de Venables, parson or rector of Routhestorn

⁵ These deeds and papers came into the hands of the Leghs owing to the marriage of Henry Cornwall Legh, Esq., with Elizabeth, one of the two daughters and co-heirs of Robert Hopkinson, of Wakefield, co. York, gentleman. The settlement made prior to this marriage (No. 254 of the Legh deeds) is dated 20th June, 1761, when Robert Hopkinson was dead. Deed No. 257 is a "rental of the estate of Miss Hopkinson and Miss Mary Hopkinson, co-heirs of Robert Hopkinson, deceased, in Birstall, Wakefield, &c.," taken in 1761, and No. 258 is a survey and valuation of Miss Hopkinson's estates in Yorkshire.

⁶ These deeds formed part of the collection relating to the Masseys of Sale, in group iv. Samuel Cliffe, of Newark-upon-Trent, co. Nottingham, married Anne, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Richard Massey, of Sale and Nottingham, Esq., in 1694, and the Clifffes held some property at Fiskerton.

⁷ These are Sir (*dño*) Warin de w'nū [Vernon], Hugh de Venables, Sir (*dño*) Robert de W'ū [Vernon], Robert de Tabbeleye, Robert de Manlye, Roger de Moldewurthe, Hamon le Bret, William de Mere, Laurence de M'bur [Merbury] and many others.

(Rostherne).¹ The earliest deed with a date belongs to the year 1268. This, which is the record of a fine concerning lands, made between Hugh de Legh and Aytrop de Mulinton, has the seal of the latter, bearing an eagle. This fine, or "final agreement," was made in the full court at Chester, before the lords (*dñis*) Thomas de Boulton, then Justiciary of Cheshire, Thomas de Meynегарин [Mainwaring], William de Boydell, Peter de Arden, Urian de Saint Pierre, Thomas de Dutton, then Sheriff of Cheshire, Geoffrey de Chedle, Thomas de Orreby, William de Massey, and others, which supply us with the names of some of the chief persons in the county palatine in 1268. To a deed belonging to the year 1279 William de Haurthin, then sheriff of Cheshire, Hugh de Venables, rector of the church of Routhestorn, and G[ilbert] de Gropenale, then dean of Frodsham (that is rural dean), are witnesses. In 1280, or possibly earlier (deed No. 9), there is mention of Thomas, chaplain of Legh, showing that a chapel of some kind existed at High Legh, and it is probable that this would be the same chapel or church mentioned as existing there at the time of the Domesday survey in 1086.

In a deed (No. 20) of about the year 1320 there is a curious reference by John, son of Hugh de Legh, the then owner of the half of High Legh, to "an old charter which I had of the gift of Hugh, son of Edward de Lega," which is probably the origin of the Edward or Eward, who is sometimes given as the earliest ancestor of the Leghs of the East Hall in old pedigrees, &c. After 1320 the deeds are regularly dated, and for the remainder of that century are fairly numerous, many of them being in Norman French instead

¹ The other witnesses are Hugh de Lymme, Aytrop de Mulinton, William de Mere, Richard de Ley [of the West Hall family], Gilbert de Tabbeley, Thomas de Ley, clerk, and many others.

of Latin. There are some valuable deeds of settlement which supply many particulars for the true history of this old Cheshire family at that early period. In 1397, Hugh de Legh, of Legh, was appointed by Richard II. to the office of escheator of Cheshire, before whom all the inquisitions *post mortem*, &c., were taken. He, however, did not hold this office long, and died in 1405. The first deed in English is in 1406,¹ and is a marriage settlement for John de Legh to marry Isabel, daughter of John de Pulle or Poole. The next English deed is dated 1427,² but Latin continued to be the prevailing language till the end of that century.

A Latin document (No. 89) dated the 31st Oct., 1442, is a "commission and mandate from the official of the Archdeacon of Chester," addressed to all the chaplains or clergy within the Archdeaconry, commanding them to admonish "three times and peremptorily all those sons of iniquity, who have cut and carried away trees and underwood of the worshipful Thomas de Legh of Northwood, in his woods, &c., at Northwood and Sworton, have fished his ponds and marlpits, and have carried off his timber from his houses, &c., at Knutsford, and have taken his household stuff and done him other injuries." And that if these evildoers did not within fifteen days of such monition make full satisfaction and restitution, then they were to be openly and publicly excommunicated, and here follows the really interesting part of this deed, "with bells rung, and candles lighted and extinguished, and the cross in the hands

¹ All deeds prior to 1450 or 1460, which are in English, are noteworthy. This contains many curious forms, as "ho" for he, "hom" for them, "hor" for their, "vchonn of hom" for each one of them, and so on.

² This relates to the above marriage, being a bond to perform an award, given by Thomas de Pull [or Poole] to John, son of Hugh de Legh. Another English deed, dated 1445, is an agreement for the marriage of John of the Holyns with Blanche, sister of Henry de Legh.

upraised, and all other legal solemnity."¹ Any deed in which there is reference to the old mediæval practice of "cursing by bell, book, and candle," is of very great rarity and of much interest, as it is not generally known how frequent this form of cursing was in the Roman Catholic Church in mediæval times, although it is unknown now.²

A conveyance of certain lands, &c., dated 1453, has a seal, which contains a straw imbedded in the wax. I have elsewhere alluded to this practice,³ which is much more uncommon in the north of England than, as Dr. Jessopp informs me, it is in the south. This deed, which is in English, is also noteworthy for the use of the word "sho" for she.

¹ The words of the original are: "Campanis pulsat^a Candel' Accens' & extinct^a ac cruce in manibz er'ca cumque omnia alia Juris solemnitate."

² I contributed an account of "Cursing by Bell, Book, and Candle," with copies of some curious Lancashire deeds in which it is referred to, to the *Local Gleanings* columns of the *Manchester Courier*, in 1878, and this paper, with additions by Mr. J. Paul Rylands and others, was subsequently reprinted in pamphlet form. The deed referred to in the text and two others subsequently mentioned are the only other examples of this quaint custom which I have met with since that time, notwithstanding that many hundreds of Lancashire and Cheshire deeds have passed through my hands. The curse as described in the *Ingoldsby Legends* will probably occur to many of my readers:—

"The Cardinal rose with a dignified look,
He call'd for his candle, his bell, and his book !
In holy anger and pious grief,
He solemnly cursed that rascally thief !
He cursed him at board, he cursed him in bed,
From the sole of his foot to the crown of his head ;"
&c., &c., &c.

This form of cursing with bell, book, and candle is mentioned by Shakspere in *King John*, act iii., scene 3; also by Chaucer, Bishop Bale, Fox, Strype, and others (see Halliwell's *Annotated Shakspere* and Knight's *Pictorial Shakspere*).

³ See a paper on the deeds of the West Hall, High Leigh, Cheshire, read before the Manchester Literary Club, and printed in the *Manchester Quarterly* for April, 1883. In the same number Mr. W. E. A. Axon added some remarks on the meaning of a straw or rush in the seal.

In a curious notarial instrument (No. 109), dated in 1463, containing a record of an oath taken in the chancel of St. John's Church, Chester, there is mention of persons swearing upon the holy evangelists and also "upon the red book of St. John, then placed upon the high altar there." This must evidently have been a book, that was very highly valued, and of the sanctity of which there could be no possible doubt, as it would almost seem to occupy higher rank than the evangelists. The making use of churches for such secular purposes as the confirming of deeds, &c., by the taking of oaths or in other ways, was not so uncommon as might be imagined, and many instances might be given of their being used for such purposes.

Deed No. 110, dated 26th September, 3rd Edward IV. [1463], is noteworthy from the fact that all the witnesses were members of the Stanley family. Their names are as follows: Thomas de Stanley, knight, Lord Stanley, justiciary of Chester; William de Stanley, knight, chamberlain of Chester; and William Stanley, of Hooton, sheriff of Cheshire. Although this deed, which is a grant by Henry de Legh of all his messuages, lands, &c., to trustees, is said to be "given at Legh" it is most probable it was done at Chester, where the witnesses would be in their official capacity.

Deed No. 115, dated 1463, is a very elaborate settlement of the estates of Henry de Legh, in which no less than twenty persons are named, who were entitled "in remainder," one after the other, in the case of failure of issue of any of those inheriting.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, between 1510 and 1520, great disputes took place about the rightful succession to the Legh estates. The direct male line of the Legh family terminated in the person of Ralph de Legh,

who died about the year 1508, leaving three daughters and co-heirs. The estates being strictly entailed, an heir appeared in the person of Thomas Legh of Northwood, an old hall in High Legh, who was the direct descendant of a certain John de Legh, who was living in 1329, and who was a younger son of John, son of Hugh de Legh of High Legh. He ultimately made good his claim and succeeded to the estate, and the present Colonel Cornwall Legh is his direct descendant. In connection with these disputes there are three documents in English, which show how the claimants made use of the terrors of the Church in those days. Allusion has already been made to cursing by "bell, book, and candle," and these documents are confessions that certain persons heard some such form of curse pronounced in the churches of Rostherne and Warrington. The first (No. 148) is endorsed, "The confessyon of the Scole Mayster of Knotsforde," and is to the following effect: "Memorandum that I Richard Holdfield understand and know that Thomas Legh of Northwood gentleman hath gotten out a letter of a cursing from the Court of Canterbury to be pronounced within the said province [of Canterbury] for the withholding of certain evidence belonging to him that be out of his possession, wherefore I the said Richard hearing the said curse proclaimed in my parish church of Rowstorne in escaping and avoiding the peril thereof do acknowledge that I have heard seen and read three entailed deeds," &c. The second (No. 149) is a similar document slightly differently worded,¹ and it ends by stating that he had confessed this matter to a priest who would not give him absolution until he had made his knowledge public, and he swears it is true "as I shall

¹ This names Sir Hugh Achsley as then curate of Roheston (Rostherne).

answere afore god at ye day off dome." The third document (No. 150) states that another person, Thomas Hawarden, "hearing the said letter of cursing proclaimed in my parish church of Warrington, within the said province of Canterbury, I the said Thomas Hawarden in escaping and avoiding the said curse do acknowledge that I have heard and seen evidence," &c. He finishes up by saying that this acknowledgment is "to save my conscience and not from any partiality for I would rather that the adversaries of the said Thomas Legh had the land by twenty times than he and this is true as I shall answer before god and man," which clearly shows that these "letters of cursing" had their due effect. None of these three deeds are dated, but they are about the year 1510.

In the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign, in 1582, a curious dispute took place between the two families of the Leghs of High Legh, as to their armorial bearings, and the matter was referred to the Earl of Shrewsbury, K.G., as Earl Marshall. He was at Buxton, having charge of Mary, Queen of Scots, who was then residing there, and he writes from that place to "his very loveinge ffrend Mr. Thomas Legh," of the East Hall, and states that with a view to end the controversy between him and Mr. Richard Legh, of the West Hall, he had appointed a "cocking," that is, a fight between game cocks, at Chapel-en-le-Frith, near Buxton, on the 9th of July, at which he desired that he, Thomas Legh, and all his friends and relations should attend and state their case, and produce all pedigrees, arms, &c., and other records. His letter is as follows:¹

"Aft^r my hartie Comendaçons: where for the decidinge of the controußie betwene you and Richard Legh for the bearinge of yo^r Armes: I ment accordinge to my pmyse to

¹ From the contemporary copy, now preserved in High Legh MSS., vol. i.

have had the three kings of Armes, yo^r selfs and others allied to you boote to mete at at (*sic*) Buxtons: And thervpon dyrected my tres to the heraults to that effecte: ffrom whom I have latlye receyued answ^r, that Gart^r and others of them are psentlye to be otherwise employed in her Ma^{ties} guice into denmarke, So that the[y] can not then all be theire as I willed and wishe[d] the[y] might: And besyds the Scottishe Quene my charge staieth longer at Buxtons then I had thought she wolde have done: yett for that I wolde gladlye be throughlye acquaynted w^t the matt^r my selfe: I have thought good to appoint a Cockinge at Chappell of ffrith on monday the ixth of this instant Julye for the same purpose: wheroft I thought good to giue you adftisement: And also (althoughe all the heraults can not be theire at that tyme beinge otherwise employed as aforesayd) yett to requyre you to be theire, then before me, and to bringe with you boote suche gentlemē as are either come owt of yo^r howse or allied, or are able to say anye thinge therin for the expaſon of the truethe, and all suche pedegrees armes Records and auncient evidences as you have or can pduce that may best pve and iustifie yo^r discents: that vpon the sight and exaſacon therof I maye the bett^r know and iudge of the truethe: and thervpon together with suche knowledge and not[e]s as I have or then may have I may pcede to the det^rmynaſon therof accoſdinge to equytie for the quyetnes of you boote, wiche I hartelye wishe, And so bed you hartelye fare well: Buxtons this first of July 1582.

yo^r lovinge ffrend

G: SHREWSBURY.

To my very lovinge ffrend

M^r Thoms Legh."

Endorsed: " My lorde of Shrisbyry to come to y^e chappell in y^e fryth."

The meeting was duly held "in the presence of sundry as well knights, esquires and gentlemen of their blood surname and alliance and others," and the Earl Marshall then decided that Thomas Legh, of High Legh, should henceforth be entitled to bear the arms "with a lion

rampant gules," to him and his heirs for ever.¹ This is the coat the family has always borne, "Argent a lion rampant gules," whilst the other family of the Leighs (of the West Hall) now bear "Or a lion rampant gules," although they are really descended from the family of Lymme, and should bear the arms of that family, Gules, a pale fusillé argent.

A document,² dated 1615, is a licence under the hand of John Cheddocke, the Vicar of Rosthorne, granting permission to George Legh, of High Legh, and Elizabeth his wife, to eat flesh upon certain days and times prohibited, because of their ill-health, and for what seems to us the very strange reason, because "their weake and feeble stomackes cannot in anie wyse brooke or digeste fish soe well as flesh."

In 1694, Richard Legh, of High Legh, Esq., was high sheriff of Cheshire, and the Letters Patent appointing him and bearing a fine and perfect impression of the seal of the County Palatine of Chester is still preserved in this collection. During his year of office an election of members of Parliament took place, and he had to make the return of the election of Sir John Mainwaring, Bart., and Sir Robert Cotton, Knt. and Bart., as the two members for the county of Chester. From an expression in this deed (which is in Latin), it would seem that the two newly-elected members were duly "girt with swords" (*gladios cinctos*), and so literally made "knights of the shire."

About 1730, George Legh, of High Legh, Esq., married

¹ "A copy of the Earle Marshalls Warrant [dated at Chelsea, 4th December, 1584] directed to Mr. Norroy King of Armes and [to] Somerset Herald for Registering of the Accord by him made betweene the two Leghes of High Leghe in Cheshire for bearing of Armes," is preserved in the Ashmolean MSS., No. 857, f. 200, in the Bodleian Library. The original is not now at High Legh, but a contemporary copy of it is preserved in vol. i. of the High Legh MSS., and also in the Swinehead chartulary.

² Now preserved in the High Legh MSS., vol. i.

Anna Maria, daughter and heir of Francis Cornwall, Esq., Baron of Burford, co. Salop, the representative of a very old Shropshire family, which took high rank in that county. By this marriage Mr. Legh's successors were enabled to add something like seventy quarterings to their shield of arms, and on the fine illuminated pedigree of the Leghs, originally drawn up in 1619, and continued to 1811 by Francis Townsend, Windsor Herald, the latter allowed the family no less than the very large number of eighty-six quarterings.¹

Some of the contents of the four folio volumes of the HIGH LEGH MSS. deserve to be referred to here. In volume i. is the painted shield of arms of Thomas Legh, of High Legh, Esq. (quartering Alpraham), on parchment, signed by William Flower, Esq., Norroy, and R. Glover Somerset, the two heralds who came to Cheshire for the Visitation of 1580, and confirmed and signed by Richard St. George, Norroy, at the next Cheshire Visitation of 1613. In this volume is also the sermon preached at the funeral of Henry Legh, Esq., on the 25th February 1684[-5], and many interesting papers, specially relating to the Legh family. Volume ii. contains notes and abstracts of the old deeds of the Legh and the Cornwall families, &c., made by George Legh, Esq., about 1778, together with other Legh notes, made by Richard Legh, Esq., about 1690. There are some interesting old plans of the seats in Rostherne church, with other documents relating to that edifice in volume iii., whilst volume iv. contains long lists of those assessed for the Land Tax, in the various townships of Bucklow Hundred, in the year 1734.

¹ This pedigree, with the beautifully painted shield of arms of eighty-six quarters, was exhibited at the meeting, together with one of the Wogan family drawn up about 1586, with very curiously painted shields of arms, and an old illuminated pedigree of the Cornwall family, on which many interesting old deeds relating to that family are copied.

II. *Deeds relating to the Leghs of Swinehead, &c.*

About the year 1686, Richard Legh, of High Legh, Esq., purchased from his nephew, Richard Legh, of Swinehead, gentleman, the Swinehead¹ estate, near High Legh. The lands forming this estate had been in the possession of the Leghs of Swinehead for over three hundred years, having been granted by John de Legh to his younger son, Matthew de Legh, early in the fourteenth century. It would naturally be expected that all the old deeds relating to this estate would now be found in Colonel Legh's possession, but, strange to say, beyond a few late seventeenth-century documents, there are hardly any which relate particularly to Swinehead. There is, however, a valuable folio volume, which is a Chartulary of the deeds formerly in the possession of the Leghs of Swinehead, commencing *c.* 1210 and coming down to 1619, in which year the book was written by George Owen, York Herald.

This SWINEHEAD CHARTULARY contains about three hundred pages, closely and clearly written on both sides of the page, the deeds being copied in full, and, in the case of the early Latin ones, being accompanied by translations placed opposite to them. The quartered shield of the Leghs of Swinehead is on the first page, followed by a pedigree coming down to 1619, and at the end are some memoranda of births, &c., relating to the children of Lawrence Legh, gentleman, who married Mary, daughter of Charles Bold, of Upton, co. Chester, in 1623, between the years 1624 and 1662.²

The earliest deed in this Chartulary is the grant of the

¹ Now called Swinyard. The old house, now used as a farmhouse, is a black and white, timber and plaster, gabled building.

² The memoranda of births, &c., here alluded to, were printed in the *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, for August, 1876, vol. ii., pp. 326-7.

moiety of Comberbach to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, not dated, but about the year 1210. This grant was made by Roger de Lacy, constable of Chester, which office he held from 1190 to 1211, and there are an unusual number of witnesses, showing the great importance attached to the deed.¹ It is also noteworthy that this volume contains full copies of no less than six wills of members of this family proved between the years 1512 and 1619, *not one* of which is now to be found in the Probate Court at Chester! These are, Matthew Legh, 1512;² Richard Legh, 1552;³ Joan Legh, widow, 1558; Richard Legh, 1582; Jane Legh, widow, 1585; and Richard Legh, 1619.

III. *Miscellaneous Cheshire Deeds.*

There are many interesting documents amongst the miscellaneous deeds relating to various parts of Cheshire. To

¹ The names of these witnesses are as follows: Henry the prior of Norton; Richard the chaplain; Richard, brother of the Constable; Hugh de Boidele; Rafe the son of Symon; Thomas Dispenser; Hugh de Dutton; Adam de Dutton; Ralph the son of Roger; Alexander the son of Ralph; Liulph the sheriff [of Cheshire]; Bertram the chamberlain; John Burdon; Hugh de Eccleston; Richard, son of Henry; Robert de Pulle; John, son of Alured; Gilbert de Lymme; William de Camvile; Alan de Waley (?); William the son of Matthew; Richard the son of John; Richard the son of Gilbert; Aitrop [de Mulinton]; Richard Starkie; Richard de Whiteleth; William de Tabbelith; Walter de Toft; John de Comberbach; Henry, his brother; and the whole Hundred of Hetheton. This deed is referred to and quoted by Sir Peter Leycester in his *History of Bucklow Hundred*, p. 237, from this very Chartulary. He reads the last words as "the whole Hundred of Haltonshire," for which he probably had some good warrant.

² This will mentions "the Chappell of Seynt Anne within the parish church of Handley," co. Chester, no reference to which is believed to have previously occurred.

³ This will was at Chester in the Rev. J. Piccope's time, and was examined by him, and the notes he made of it I have printed in *Wills and Inventories at Chester*, Chetham Society, N.S., vol. iii., p. 220. It cannot now be found. A comparison of this will, as copied in the Swinehead Chartulary, with Mr. Piccope's genealogical notes, enables us to judge of the accuracy of the latter, and to recognize what he has omitted to copy.

the Strethull deeds many of the early rectors of Rostherne were witnesses, and in one of them, of about the year 1250, Adam, lord of Legh, and Richard, lord of Legh, were two of the witnesses, showing how early the two estates were separate. The Knutsford deeds are very numerous, extending from c. 1292 to the year 1702. The earliest is a copy of the grant from William, lord of Tabley, to his burgesses of Knutsford, which is printed in full by Sir Peter Leycester in his *Bucklow Hundred*, p. 295. Most of the early deeds relate to the burgages there belonging to the family of Venables of Strethull. Others relate to the "George Inn" there at the end of the seventeenth century. There is a large collection of deeds relating to the family of Cocker of Pickmere, between the years 1300 and 1595, from which the early descents of this now extinct family might easily be deduced. There are a few leases and other deeds relating to Chester between the years 1513 and 1582. The deeds relating to Golburne, Manley,¹ and Hargreave, although of considerable value to any one engaged on the history of those places, do not call for much comment here. Amongst the documents in the last bundle in this group, attention should be called to No. 771, which is an interesting contemporary account of the baptisms, marriages, &c., of the children of Peter Mainwaring, of Smallwood, co. Chester, gentleman, between the years 1603 and 1650. His eldest daughter, Eleanor, married Elias Ashmole, Esq., the founder of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and Windsor Herald, and another, Elizabeth, married the Rev. Henry Newcome, of Manchester, the celebrated Nonconformist.

¹ These Manley deeds and others of these miscellaneous Cheshire deeds came into the possession of the Leghs owing to the marriage of Henry Legh, of High Legh, Esq., about 1630, to Dorothy, daughter of Gregory Turner, Rector of Sefton, co. Lanc., who had an estate at Manley.

IV. *Special Collections of Cheshire Deeds.*

The two collections of deeds contained in Group IV. deserve special mention. The first of these relates to Thornton-in-the-Moors, co. Chester, and comprises a fine series of deeds of much interest, dating back to the early part of the thirteenth century. The earliest of these deeds, which is of about the year 1215, is a grant of the whole "vill" or township of Thornton, and all his rights therein, together with the advowson of the church there, from Richard, lord of Aldeford, to Peter, "clerk of the Lord the Earl of Chester." Here again the importance of this deed is shown by the large number of twenty-one witnesses, whose names are as follows:—

Philip de Orreby, now Justiciary of Chester, Warin de Vernon, William de Venables, Hamo de Masci, Robert Pâte, Hugh and Geoffrey de Dutton, William de Haselwell, Patrick de Modburlegh, Robert de Pulford, Liulph de Tuamlawe, Joceramus de Hellesby, Robert and Randle de Praers (*perijs*), Richard de Sandboch, Richard de Vernon, David de Malpas, Richard de Bresci, Philip de Wirhall, Richard de Raudestorn, clerk, Thomas, Chamberlain of Chester, and many others.

Of these persons we know that Philip de Orreby was Justiciary of Chester from 1209 to 1228, which helps to fix the date of the deed. To this document there is a large portion of the seal still remaining, showing the equestrian figure of a knight in armour.

The next deed of this series is the grant of the "vill" of Thornton to Peter, his clerk or secretary, by the celebrated Randle Blundeville, Earl of Chester, free from all services at his courts for the County, Hundred, or Forest. To this deed there are twelve witnesses, amongst whom are Philip



de Orreby, then Justiciary of Chester, and Hugh, Abbot of Chester. The date of this is the same as the one last mentioned, c. 1215. A facsimile of this interesting deed is given in the annexed plate. The following is a translation :—

Randle, Earl of Chester, to his Constable, Shieldbearer, (*constabulario dapiero*), Justiciaries, Sheriffs, Barons and Knights and Bailiffs and to all his men (*hominibus*) present and future, who shall see or hear this present charter, greeting. Be it known that I have given and granted to Peter, my clerk (*clerico*), and his heirs or to whomsoever he may assign it, the vill of Thornith', [with] acquittance of suits of the County and the Hundred Courts, and of pleas of the Forest, and acquittance of pannage of the lord for his swine in my forests, and acquittance [from the liability] of feeding the foresters and serjeants (*forestariis et servientibus*). And that this my gift and concession of the liberties aforesaid may remain for ever firm and unbroken, to have and to hold to him and his heirs, or to whomsoever he may assign the same, of me and my heirs, I have strengthened it by the testimony of those present at this writing and by the placing of my seal. These being witnesses, Philip de Orreby, now Justiciary of Chester, Hugh, Abbot of Chester, R., Seneschal of Montalt, William de Venables, Warin de Vernon, Hamo de Mascy, Ralph, son of Simon, Richard de Kingsley, Joceramus de Hellesby, Gilbert Bruno, Robert de Trohford, Hugh de Hole, and many others.

The Earl's seal is unfortunately now broken, and what remains of it is tied up in linen. Randle Blundeville was Earl of Chester from 1181 to 1230, and in 1217 he was created Earl of Lincoln, after which date he styled himself Earl of Chester and Lincoln, and not Earl of Chester only. Hugh Grylle, Abbot of Chester, held that office from 1208 to 1226.

The other deeds in this collection relate to the manor of

Thornton, and the advowson of the church there,¹ as also to the families of the Thorntons and the Booths of Dunham Massey, and are of much importance for the history of that part of Cheshire. This manor was the inheritance of the Hon. Langham Booth, who died in 1725. He, by his will, devised this estate and his lands in Ince, Elton and Stoake, to his brother, Henry Booth, for his life, with remainder to his heirs male in tail male, remainder to his brother, the Earl of Warrington, and his issue in like manner, with final remainder to George Legh, of High Legh, Esq., and his issue in like manner. The Hon. Henry Booth died unmarried, and the Earl of Warrington enjoyed this estate till 1758. On his death, in that year, without issue, it passed to George Legh, Esq., and was sold a few years ago.

The other collection contains a fine series of deeds relating to the manor of Sale, co. Chester, and the family of Massey of Sale, between the years 1335 and 1784, many of which are of much interest. One of these (No. 871) is a notarial instrument, reciting the will of Richard le Massey, of Sale, Esq., which had been made in his house in Bridge Street, Chester, in the year 1407. Another (No. 879), dated 28th September, 1461, is a settlement of the lands of Hamo Massey, of Rixton, near Warrington, by which Joan his wife was to hold the same for the term of twelve years after his death and to find priests to do divine service, &c., during that time. There is also an interesting award (No. 881), dated 25th August, 1480, between Sir Randle Assheton, parson of Assheton upon Mersey, and Robert Vawdry, concerning land in Sale. Nos. 884-5, dated July, 1501, relate to a parcel of land in Sale which

¹ In 1545 it is spoken of as the church of St. Ellen of Thornton upon the Moors. It is now, I believe, generally said to be dedicated to St. Mary.

had been settled "to the service of our blessid ladie of Assheton upon Mersey bonke." The names of many of the rectors of Ashton-on-Mersey and Northenden and the vicars of Bowdon occur in this collection.¹

I will not enlarge upon the contents of the deeds contained in Group V. relating to Lancashire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, &c., &c., especially as I purpose to bring them to the notice of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, at Manchester, and this paper is already sufficiently long. A summary of the contents of the various bundles will be found on pp. 9-10, and a more detailed account in the Transactions of the above Society for 1887, vol. v.²

The history of these Legh deeds is a somewhat curious one. When Sir Peter Leycester was writing his *History of Bucklow Hundred*, he was most anxious to examine all the deeds relating to the various families, holding lands within that Hundred, and he accordingly applied to the then owners of the various estates for permission to inspect their deeds. In almost every case this permission was accorded to him, and in his MSS. still preserved at Tabley House, near Knutsford, by Lord de Tabley, which I carefully examined some years since, are to be found his abstracts of all the documents he saw, on which abstracts and other public records, he based his well-known *History of Bucklow Hundred*, a most valuable book published in 1673. But in that volume, whilst he gives a full account of the Leighs of the West Hall, he adds (p. 309): "Here should have followed the Descent of the other Legh de

¹ The manor of Sale was purchased by George John Legh, of High Legh, Esq., towards the end of the last century, but was subsequently sold by him or his son.

² My paper was read at the meeting of the Society held on 1st April, 1887.

East-Hall in High Legh, but I could not have the Perusal of the Evidences of that Family: For that Henry Legh, Esquire, now Owner thereof, affirmed that his Deeds were most of them lost in the late War."

Whether this was an excuse or not, one cannot now say, but the deeds, even if they were mislaid then, have since been found, and are now in Colonel Legh's possession. About four years ago, whilst examining the deeds preserved at the West Hall, High Legh, belonging to Captain Egerton Leigh, I was much surprised to find a great many relating to the East Hall family, and these mostly of a very early date. When this was pointed out to Captain Egerton Leigh, he most courteously sent Colonel Legh all the deeds which had any connection with the East Hall family, and thus at the present time the East Hall deeds are for the first time, possibly for centuries, all brought together again and properly arranged and calendared.¹ I fancy that as the Leighs of the West Hall were mixed up in the disputes about the East Hall estates between 1510 and 1520, it is quite possible that they held the old deeds as trustees and never gave them up to the new owner.

In conclusion, I would only wish to point out that these High Legh deeds are by no means exceptional, and that very many other large landowners in Lancashire and Cheshire are the possessors of deeds and documents, no doubt quite as important and as interesting as these, but their value is at present unknown, because they have never been properly examined and arranged. Some years ago the Duke of Westminster set an excellent example by printing a calendar of the deeds at Eaton Hall, and in 1866 Mr. Egerton-Warburton printed a calendar of the deeds at

¹ A few West Hall deeds, found amongst the East Hall deeds, have been added to Captain Egerton Leigh's collection.

Arley Hall, but these are the only two Cheshire collections, to my knowledge, of which calendars have been made, and I know of no Lancashire ones.¹ I can only hope that other landowners will now follow Colonel Cornwall Legh's example and have the contents of their muniment rooms set in order, and I can assure them the results will be well worth the trouble and expense. It is surely no small matter for Colonel Legh to know that, not only does he represent one of the oldest territorial families in the county, but also that from the year 1230 to the present time *every step* in his pedigree can be proved by documentary evidence in his own possession!

And what is true of private individuals is also, looked at from another point of view, true of corporations. Fortunate is the city, which has a history, and still more fortunate is that city, whose historical records are still extant. Here in Chester, the old records of the city are now well cared for and carefully preserved, but their contents are practically unknown. Considering what light they would most probably throw on the past history of this ancient city, I shall be only too glad if the few remarks I have made about the value of the Legh deeds should cause these far more historically important records to be carefully examined, and, if possible, printed.

¹ The fine collection of deeds preserved at Agecroft Hall, near Manchester, was recently examined and arranged by me, and they will be printed as an appendix to a History of that old Hall and the families connected with it, which I am at present engaged upon.





NOTES ON THE MEDIÆVAL ARCHITECTURE OF CHESTER, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROWS AND THE CRYPTS.

BY JOHN HEWITT.

THE subjects of my notes are but a small portion of a topic, which, if touched upon in its entirety, would involve the writing of a complete history of mediæval domestic architecture, a task I would leave for others more able than myself. But inasmuch as the immediate subjects are portions of so important a matter, I will trouble you with an outline character of the mediæval buildings and the mode of their erection. Before doing so, I would draw your attention to the fact that our city has neither been built upon one specified line or in any particular period, as was the case with Hull, Winchelsea, and Liverpool, but on and in many, which patching has destroyed many of the features prevalent in each stage of the city's advancement.

The Roman age is far too early for the discussion of our object, except in the general accepted opinion that the lines of our streets are of Roman origin, of which more may be said hereafter. The ravages of the Northumbrians and the Danes in later centuries did much to destroy the Roman work, yet no more than did the Normans, who, with the later inhabitants, left no trace of any Saxon work, excepting

the few interesting head crosses now at St. John's. Thus both Roman and Saxon erections in their turn were ruthlessly thrown down to be superseded by Norman and early English buildings. Yet no Norman architecture has been preserved to us, save in St. John's church, and the Cathedral of St. Werburgh; and so up to the twelfth century, Chester must have been erected at least four times. This must be pointed out as bearing upon the origin of the Rows, as some writers have considered them to have been built during the Roman occupation of Deva. I have yet failed to read of any Roman buildings in England or on the continent having the slightest approach to the features of our Rows. Neither can it be safely contended that Deva should have been built upon other lines than those stereotyped, so to speak, upon the minds of Roman leaders. The remains of that age still preserved for us, as also the writings of our local authorities, confirm this opinion, and so I will dismiss the idea of the Roman origin of the Rows.

I have already very briefly brought up the progress of the city to the Norman age, when the Castle of Chester was erected by William the Conqueror, and the walls repaired and strengthened. This protection from the Welsh and other enemies of the city, together with the powerful character of the Norman earls of Chester, laid the real foundation of Chester as a seat of commerce, a protection in itself sufficient to induce our citizens to lay out money to erect houses of business, even had they been without the charters of privileges given them by the earls. Domestic buildings of the Norman age are extremely scarce in England, not one being in Chester. The general character of the houses was but slightly altered during the first three centuries following the Conquest, and the following description by Mr. Cutts will give an idea of their accommodation:—

“ The house of any ordinary citizen had a narrow frontage, and usually presented its gable to the street; very frequently it had a basement story groined, which formed a cellar, and elevated the first floor of the house three or four feet above the level of the street. At Winchelsea, the vaulted basements of three or four of the old houses remain, and show that the entrance to the house was by a short stair alongside the wall; under these stairs was the entrance into the cellar, beside the steps a window to the cellar, and over that the window of the first floor. Here, as was usually the case, the upper part of the house was of wood, and it was roofed with tiles. On the first floor was the shop, and beside it an alley, leading to the back of the house and to a straight stair, which gave access to the building over the shop, which was a hall or common living-room occupying the whole of the first floor. The kitchen was at the back, near the hall, or sometimes the cooking was done in the hall itself. A private stair mounted to the upper floor, which was the sleeping apartment, and probably was often left in one undivided garret; the great roof of the house was a wareroom or storeroom, goods being lifted to it by a crane, which projected from a door in the gable. The town of Cluny possesses some examples, very little modernised, of houses of this description of the twelfth century. Others of the thirteenth century are at St. Antonin, and in the Rue St. Martin, Amiens. Our own country will supply us with abundance of examples of houses, both of timber and stone, of the fifteenth century.

“ But it must be admitted that the continental towns very far exceed ours in their antiquarian and artistic interest. In the first place, the period of great commercial prosperity occurred in these countries in the middle ages, and their mediæval towns were in consequence larger and handsomer than ours. In the second place, there has been

no great outburst of prosperity in these countries since, to encourage the pulling down the mediæval houses to make way for modern improvements; while in England our commercial growth, which came later, has had the result of clearing away nearly all of our old town-houses, except in a few old-fashioned places, which were left outside the tide of commercial innovations. In consequence, a walk through some of the towns of Normandy will enable the student and the artist better to realise the picturesque effect of an old English town than any amount of diligence in putting together the fragments of old towns which remain to us."

I have ventured to give this extract from *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, in order to show that, with the exception of the Rows, the buildings of Chester are built very much upon the mediæval plan. Bearing in mind that the basement consisted of a groined vault with low doorway and window, under the external steps leading to the principal floor, elevated four or five feet above the street level, we arrive at the real subjects of to-night's meeting.

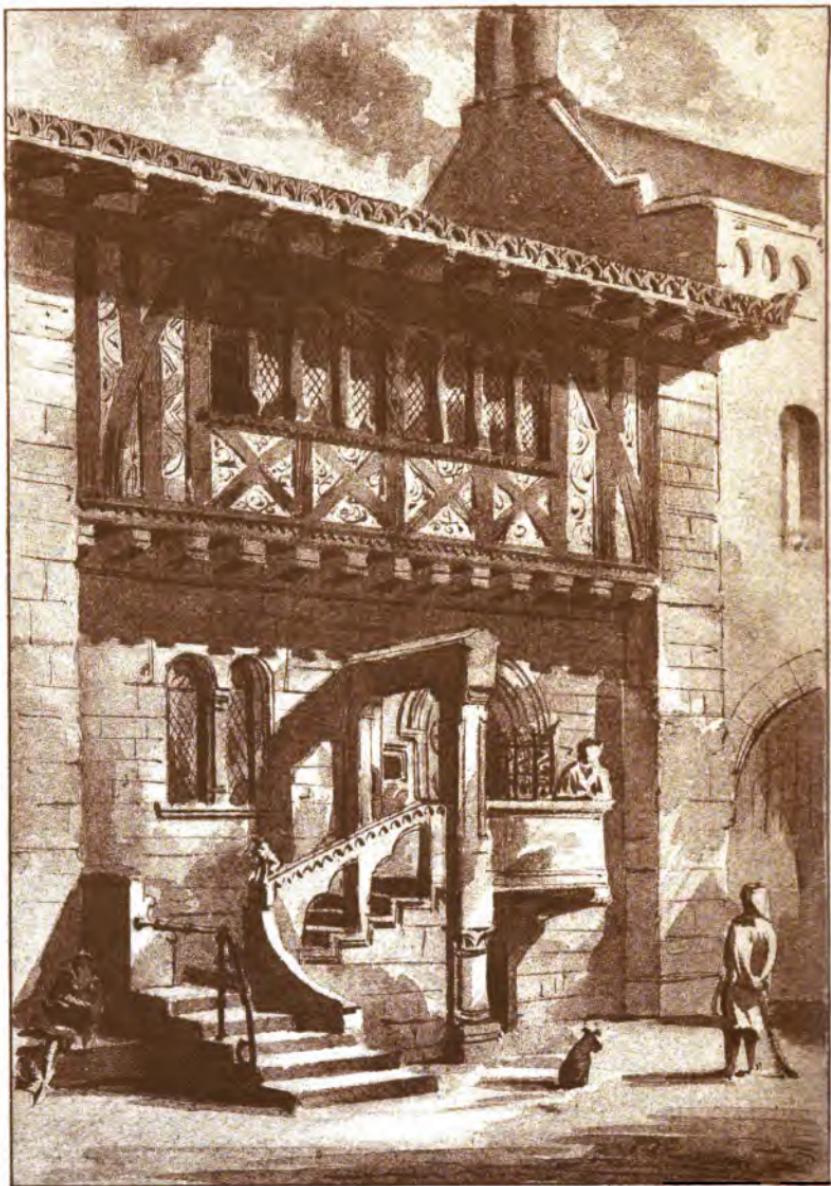
During the visit of the Archæological Institute to Chester in 1849, the late Mr. J. H. Parker gave an opinion upon the Rows which I will here repeat, as it contains points of vital interest. He says:—

“Perhaps the one feature for which Chester is most celebrated is the Rows, said to be perfectly unique, and the origin of which is very doubtful. They consist of a passage or bazaar along the front of the first floor of the houses, with only a balustrade in front, the back part of the rooms being the shops. The most probable origin of these Rows is, that after some great fire, it was found more convenient to make the footway on the top of the cellars or vaulted substructures, instead of in the narrow street

between them. It was the custom in towns in the middle ages to protect the lower story or cellar, which was half under ground, by a vault of stone or brick. This was the storeroom, in which the merchandise or other valuable property was preserved. The upper parts of the houses were entirely of wood, and the whole of these being destroyed by fire, it was more easy to make the footway on the top of the vaults, leaving the roadway clear for horses and carts. Many of these vaulted chambers of the mediæval period remain in Chester, more or less perfect, some divided by modern walls and used as cellars, others perfect and used as shops or warehouses. For engravings of these store-rooms, see *The Chester Guide* and *Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1856, p. 293. A very dreadful fire is said to have occurred in 1114, which consumed a large part of Chester, and which, Bradshaw says, was stopped by the exposure of the relics of St. Werburgh. Others are recorded in 1140 and 1180, and in 1231 it was again burnt by Llewellyn. It is possible that the Rows may have as remote an origin as this; such a custom, once established, would not be easily altered."

I agree with some of Mr. Parker's remarks, but they are suggestive rather than conclusive. It is natural that a casual visitor should express suggestive opinions, especially before those who are born and live upon the scene of inquiry, whose daily occupation make the special features familiar, and give greater facilities for research into local antiquities. If the years of the fires had not been recorded, the theory in connection with those disasters is one, which once advanced, could be better sustained than destroyed, but the fact that they occurred before the erection of any of the crypts is fatal to Mr. Parker's opinion. It is possible that theories of greater probability could be advanced and that a specific reason why the Rows were established





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FRONT OF XIIIth CENTURY HOUSE.

From M. Viollet le Due's *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*.

could be given. My own task will be to settle none of these theories, however desirous it is they should be; but I may add it is very improbable that the erection of the Rows was intended as a defence against the Welsh, inasmuch as the military strength of the Castle and the city walls and gates were sufficient to resist any attack from the Welsh borderers.

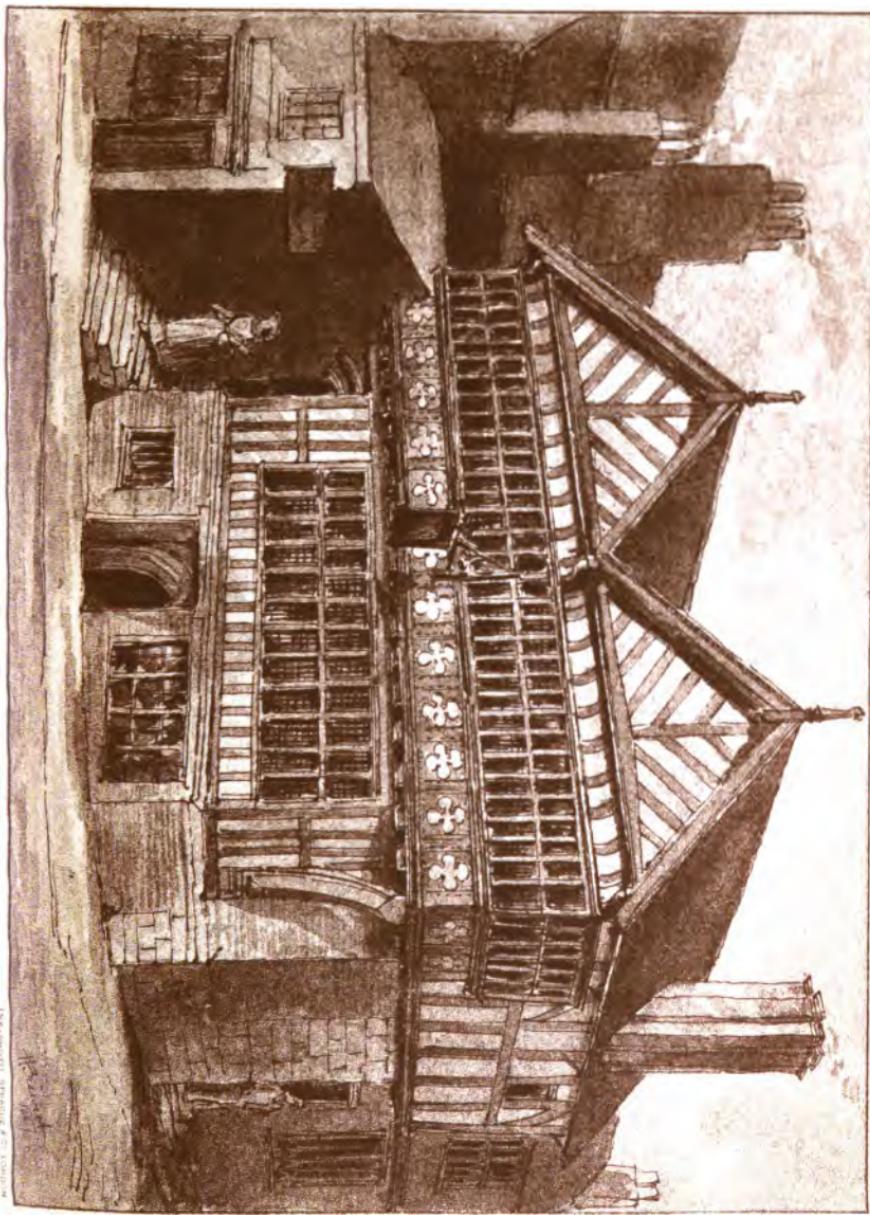
I have been at some pains to find out how I believe the Rows were formed, and will endeavour to give my ideas in detail. Plate No. 1 shows the elevation and frontage of a twelfth-century town house. Here it will be seen that the external steps and the entrance to the cellar are identical, and agree in every particular, with the descriptions already given, and not only so, but also with the existing remains in our city. Taking the frontage of the steps going up to the house level, the real ground frontage to the street gives a depth of about five feet before the main wall of elevation. This area was sometimes open as in the illustrations, but in others may have been inclosed by railings. So far this plan is identical with the crypt yet remaining under the premises of Messrs. Brown, in Eastgate Street. Here still in perfect condition are the entrance and windows with the frontage to the cellar. By leaving out the more modern encroachment built in front of the cellar entrance, the plan would be as shown in the sketch given opposite this page, but whether the steps were returned as in Plate No. 1 or as in the latter there appears no satisfactory evidence. But it is probable that they were on the latter plan, which is yet the case in Chester; excepting flight of steps in Watergate Street near to Puppet Show Entry. The sketch also shows the suggested plan and section of the first floor which contained the business portion of the premises, now represented by our Row level. It is remarkable that the mediæval ideas are the same in the main, proving, though

Chester streets are built upon Roman lines, that a general reformation in the houses must have taken place during the period between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries.

The most complete example of early arrangement in Chester is the Falcon Cocoa House in Lower Bridge Street. Though erected so late as the end of the sixteenth century, it is built upon the lines of a much earlier plan, thus seeming to be a copy of a very much older original, the value of which is enhanced by it being unique in Chester. Here can be seen the identical arrangement of steps, partially external and internal, leading up to the first-floor level, under a massive stone arch, possibly older than the present erection. The entrance to the cellar is modern; but the cellar itself, no longer vaulted, contains large arches to carry the floor by building over. Internally, the kitchen department overlooked a yard at the rear by a large and handsome mullioned window, still existing.

Returning to the street frontage it can easily be seen that advantage has been taken of the space, once devoted to the steps of the adjacent property, by building upon it, and so adding that much depth to the building, which is likewise the case in the premises situate lower down the street. This bringing forward of the frontage had become general in the main streets, though at what period I would not pretend to fix, except that it must have been prior to the sixteenth century.

The Mainwaring family had a town residence in Watergate Street, the site of which is now occupied by the new houses adjoining the premises of Messrs. Blackburn and Co. This building is described by Mr. Thomas Hughes, F.S.A., as "the city residence for generations of the Mainwarings, of Oteley in Salop, and of Bromborough in the county of Chester." . . . "Their stately mansion, with its panelled oak rooms and polished floors; its lady's snug



FALCON INN, CHESTER.

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boudoir, stretching out over the steps leading down the street, was ultimately deserted as the family residence, and was let out to strangers as two independent houses. *Peddling little shops . . . were allowed to block up the open space in front* to the sacrifice alike of the character of the mansion, and of its popularity as a place of genteel residence, and then came the end. It passed by sale into the hands of a speculative trader, who speedily tore down the ancient structure, and replaced it with a terrace of modern brick houses of no very ornamental character, and thus has the present generation parted with the Mainwaring House, an architectural landmark that can never be replaced."

Mr. Hughes' regret is well founded, as I find the house had features peculiar to itself, bearing upon the Rows question. The house was set back from line of street, with the peddling little shops of more recent erection before it, as the shops once were before St. Peter's Church under the Pentice Court. But the interior of Mainwaring House was approached by steps, leading up from the street as in older buildings, to an open gallery or covered Row with a balustrade, so formed that the building was entered from the right or left hand at the will of the visitor. This elevated floor and Row proves that the Row principle was not only continuous, but applicable to individual houses. The presence of the small shops proves here (as in other instances) the encroachment upon the streets by the Rows. See illustration opposite page 40.

Following up what has already been said respecting the Eastgate Street crypt, shown on the second plate, I must ask your attention to the remaining portions marked B and C. There will be seen the original steps marked *a*, also the basement *b*, but by the removal of the front wall above the cellar entrance *c*, advancing it to the edge of the external

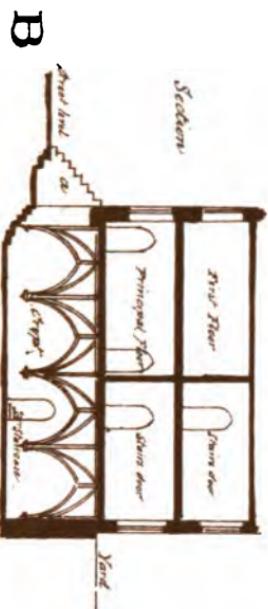
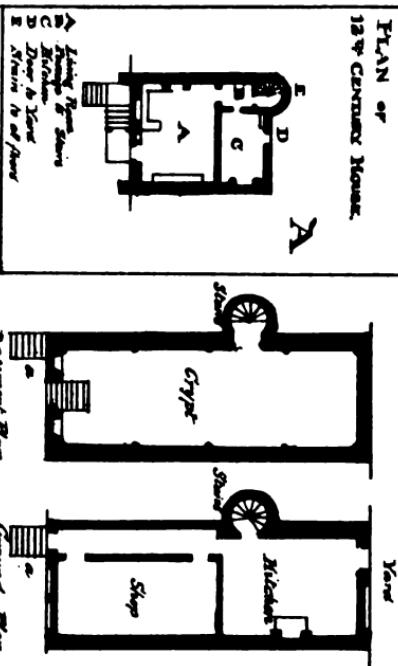
steps at *d*, and erecting the wall *e* over the crypt, the present principle of the Rows is obtained.

I have already stated the probable impossibility of defining when and why the Rows were formed, but it must have been a general undertaking when the idea did present itself. The difference of level between the centre of Eastgate Row South and its Newgate Street extremity corroborates the opinion that their erection is not anterior to that of the crypts, otherwise the altitude would be practically level in the whole length. The effect of this change was the narrowing of all the main streets by at least nine or ten feet, possibly more in the case of Watergate Street, which is narrowed by the total distance between the street and crypt wall, and the width of Row next St. Peter's Church, or about fourteen feet in the whole.

Any one examining the ordnance survey of the city will be struck by the uneven and diminishing width of Watergate Street, as the Cross is approached from the Watergate. No one can suppose that Chester, really the only seaport on the west coast, should have such a miserable approach to its wharfs and its shipping. Even the western extremity of the street is wider than its eastern, and more publicly occupied, end, which was one of the centres of the city. But when the principle of the Row was established, the authorities allowed the street to be built upon, the Row being perhaps a means of compromising the eventual spoiling of Watergate Street.

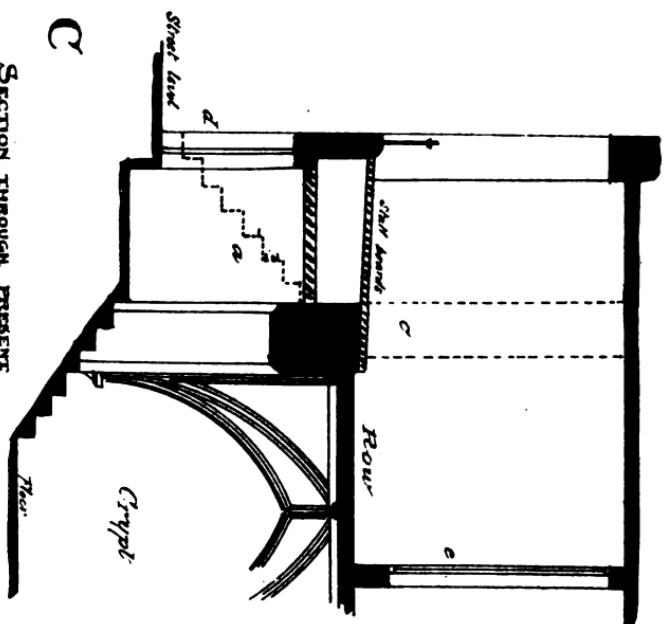
I am inclined to think that the west side of Bridge Street from the Cross to Commonhall Street, Bridge Street Row East from the Cross to Feathers Lane, the whole of Eastgate Row South, and the projection embracing Mr. Spencer's shop, and others in Eastgate Street North, also that portion of Watergate Street Row South ending at Puppet Show Entry, the North Row of the same street, and

PLAN of
124 GLOUCESTER HOUSE.



SUGGESTED ARRANGEMENT OF HOUSE
EASTGATE STREET.

SECTION THROUGH PRESENT
ROW, TO SHOW HOW THE CHANGE
TOOK PLACE.



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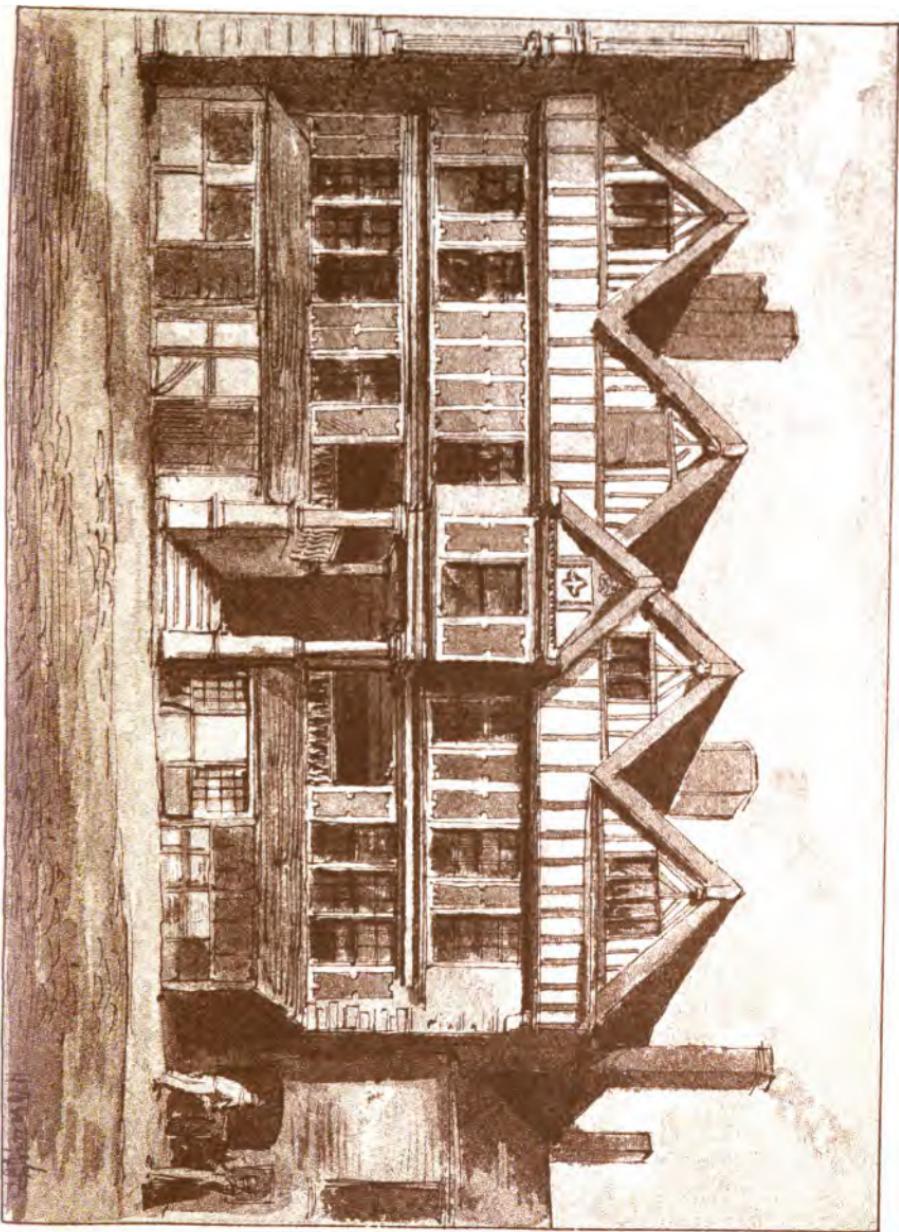
the whole of the Rows in Northgate Street are the earliest portions of the Rows, and encroachments upon the streets; some of the remainder being built within the original line of frontage, as Bridge Street Row West from Commonhall Street to White Friars, and in Watergate Street from Puppet Show Entry to Weaver Street. The portion from Feathers Lane to St. Michael's church, and that from Goss Street to St. Peter's are subject to any inquiries, tending to fix the boundaries of St. Michael's Monastery, and the extent of St. Peter's Churchyard, which may have joined up to Watergate Street, prior to the erection of the Row. At the point of junction of the church of St. Peter's with the Victoria Dining Rooms, it will be found that the remains of a stone wall in a line with the south wall of the church bears evidence sufficient to suggest that this portion of the Row had been added to the street within the last three centuries, the stone wall running into the roof of the house, so as to form a raised portion, exhibiting the suggested older line of frontage, but perhaps I am too sanguine as to this. It has occurred to me that the streets, having been excavated in Roman times and much of the land being above the street level, may possibly have caused a combination of the elevated mediæval house with the existing circumstances, and so originated the Rows; but against this theory is the fact that the doorway of the Eastgate Street crypt proves the contrary, for had the Rows been erected when the crypt was formed, the inner doorway would be of no use, but rather an obstruction.

The historical or social connections of the Rows are of themselves sufficient to form a more interesting paper than I have endeavoured to prepare. There are, however, some points of interest, which seem to be worthy of your attention. Any one turning over the pages of the very inartistic etchings by Batenham, or the spirited etchings of George

Cuitt, will readily see how very much altered the street premises are, and particularly those in Eastgate Street. Many houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been swept away from the whole of the streets, and so, if only for the reason that Batenham's etchings give us some idea of their character, his otherwise uninteresting plates have become historically valuable, and worthy of being included in Chester Row lore.

Readers of their city's history are well aware of the trick that Mrs. Mottershead played upon the bearer of the commission to Ireland, during the troubles of the sixteenth century. This took place in the Blue Post Inn, Bridge Street, which premises are now occupied by Mr. James Jones, bootmaker. The present shop is modern, but the remaining front portion of the building internally is of sixteenth-century work. The front room over the Row is called the "card-room," and said to be the identical apartment in which the trick was performed. The ceiling of this room is ornamented by panelled and moulded ribs in plaster work, a large Tudor rose occupies the intersection of the cross beams, and a panelled dado about four feet high is fixed round the walls. The staircase to the second floor is coeval with the other work, but is not of any extraordinary pattern, as it is really a back staircase leading to the attic bedrooms. The front attic is much altered from its original state, being made about six feet less in depth, caused by cutting off the massive overhanging gable, which projected about that distance beyond the Row line. This projection is proved by an ornamental ceiling-centre, a masked face, surrounded by floriated work of the design then in vogue. A view of Bridge Street,¹ taken in the be-

¹ This view is given in *Chester Archaeological Society's Journal*, vol. i., page 109.



MANWARING HOUSE, CHESTER.

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ginning of the eighteenth century, shows this identical gable, as well as others now removed, and, in the majority of cases, superseded by mean brick erections, entirely at variance with the custom of earlier times, when each tradesman had his premises decorated or ornamented with the sign of his calling or of his house.

Any attempt to restore old Chester to its former artistic and architectural renown will be futile without the introduction of the taste displayed by the manners and customs of her ancient citizens, and possibly no building is more worthy of this revival than the old Blue Post Inn. Nearly opposite this, is the pile of buildings erected in the seventeenth century, in the Dutch style of domestic architecture. They have no recorded history, but their aged and systematic grouping is worthy of being decorated in a manner better to show their beauty than ordinary stone colour can accomplish. There is a very good example of moulded half-timber work bearing "T. C. 1664," behind which is the reputed mediaeval crypt chapel; the interior of these premises also bear evidence of considerable taste and finish. The premises more to the north are instances of the excellent knowledge their builders possessed of construction, as they are built upon timber uprights and beams only, no brick piers occurring in a distance of at least fifty feet. The Rows are rather low here in the front, owing doubtless to the raising of the shop fronts below.

In Eastgate Street the only example remaining out of many is the Boot Inn, and that is remarkable for its architecture: whilst opposite to this is a gable bearing the letters and date 16 C+B 10. Northgate Rows have a good type of Gothic in Mr. Rickman's premises, but the best portions of the front are hidden by rough-cast work, which is the case with many other examples in the city.

Watergate Street contains the most examples of older work, a richness due to the street not being sufficiently central, or convenient to be worthy of rebuilding, as was the case of other streets. The first building to notice is "God's Providence House," not so much for its well-known legend, nor its dated and inscribed beam, as for the unsatisfactory manner in which it has been restored. Reading of the admirable manner in which the owner had caused the building to be rebuilt upon the identical lines of the old work, a stranger would naturally expect to see the building an exact copy of the original, but in reality there is not one of the older features retained, saving of course the beam. Despite what has been said in favour of the new God's Providence House, the old one, with its simple but artistic and modest timbers, was much more interesting than the new, with its cast-irony-looking panels and ill-proportioned timbers. A much better subject is the building a little more to the south, occupied by Mr. Maddocks, furniture dealer, where is to be found a variety of timber and plaster work too good to be left neglected.

Bishop Lloyd's House is of itself a subject, and one worthy of the pen of both the artistic and scriptural writer, for, whether for its associations, its artistic merit, or the scriptural scenes depicted on the carved panels, the house is the most important in the city. Next to it should come the now removed "Lamb Row," which was for generations the lion of Chester under the hands of the artists, each of whom saw the dark shadows and streaks of light so important in street painting, which no other scene in Chester could present. Its well-known construction needs no further remarks here, nor need you be reminded of how Randal Holme was fined in 1670 for building over the street, except to confirm what I have said respecting the bringing forward of the houses.

There is an interesting, but incomplete example of mediæval stonework in the premises of Messrs. J. R. Dutton and Sons, consisting of a door arch, and two window openings. They are elevated to the Row level, but at some distance beyond the inner wall of the Row. Possibly these are the remains of a domestic building of the fifteenth century, and, as the massive stone wall runs up to the present roof, there can be no doubt but that it was an external wall when first erected.

It is natural that many of our best buildings should be frequently published; but in an article, which appeared in the *Illustrated English Magazine* for August, 1886, several of the buildings in Chester were depicted as tumbling here and there in the most amusing fashion. Cestrians should object to be so libelled, however artistically it may be. Truth, even in buildings, should not be sacrificed to attain a perhaps better object than the subject, the more so as our older buildings are of sufficient beauty not to need exaggeration.

In the earlier portion of this paper a slight description of the basement is given, a fuller account of which forms the second half of my notes. There can be no doubt that the builders of older Chester had an eye to stability, accommodation, and beauty. Even in the cellars, strange to say the only remnants left to us, these properties were carried out to the fullest extent. The disposition of the cellars are identical with each other, and their floors are about the same relative level. This level would be governed by the drainage of the city, which was perhaps unworthy the taste displayed in the buildings. The thoroughfares at one time had large open channels, by which the surface-water and refuse was conveyed. In the annals of the city several entries are found bearing out this want of proper street accommodation:—

"1503. The pavement from the High Cross to the East-gate and to St. Michael's Cross was new laid."

"1568. This year the Northgate Street, the White Friars Lane, the Parson's Lane, and the Castle Lane were paved."

"1579. The Watergate Street was paved from the High Cross to Trinity church."

"1584. Eastgate Street new paved, and the channel laid in the middle, whereas before it lay on both sides."

Other entries prove that, in 1636, Wm. Edwards, mayor, "caused many dunghills to be carried away, but the cost and time was on the poor." Also that "the maior caused the dirt of many foule lanes in Chester to be carried to make a banke to enlarge the Roodey, and let shippes in." At a subsequent period, when the city was crowded with soldiers, during the siege, the following order was passed by the Council: "That the lord bishop be informed of the unwholesomeness of the puddle near the Eastgate, and the inhabitants be ordered to cleanse the streets before their respective doors within one month, under a fine of ten shillings." These instances prove that the corporation of three centuries ago were not so energetic in improvements of the thoroughfares as at the present time, always excepting Whipcord Lane and the Boughton approach to Hoole. When the drainage of the city was improved, the cellars became deeper, and eventually became entirely underground.

The crypts of Chester belong to different portions of a period between the accession of Richard I. (1189) and the end of the thirteenth century, during which time early English architecture prevailed, and the decorated style became established. These crypts were connected to the house internally by a flight of steps, mainly on the left-hand side of the building. That in Eastgate Street had circular steps in the left-hand wall, which is the exact position of the straight staircase leading from the Bridge Street crypt, but a variation

occurs in the Watergate Street crypt by its being placed at the extreme end. These variations, however, are of no importance, seeing that every owner was at liberty to suit the planning to his own requirements.

The principal point of interest in these crypts is the architecture and the various methods of vaulting. I have prepared plans showing the growth of this vaulting and the changes which occurred in even a century. Plan No. 2 shows the one in Bridge Street, No. 3 that in Eastgate Street, and No. 4 that in Watergate Street.¹ From these it will be seen that the simple groining ribs and intersecting vaulting with no ribs became furnished with both longitudinal and transverse ribs. The double vaulting to the Watergate Street crypt is now unique in Chester, but it occurred in that demolished in 1861 upon the erection of Messrs. Beckett's premises. In the earlier examples of vaulting there were usually no ribs, except the transverse, which are often perfectly plain and very massive, and even these are not always found, but later specimens commonly have diagonal ribs on the groins, similar to the Bridge Street crypt, which was erected after the use of the pointed arch had been firmly established. The decorated style had additional ribs introduced between the diagonal and cross springers, following the curve of the vault, the ridge of which had the longitudinal rib already named, as shown in the Eastgate Street crypt, and the more important ribs were usually of a larger size than the others. Etchings of the destroyed crypt in Eastgate Street show what seems to be transitional in style, being erected whilst the early English was making way for the decorated style. The columns had no caps to receive the groining ribs, as the latter finished against the splayed sides of the column. At a later period not only were the centre columns provided

¹ These are not illustrated, the numbers referring to cartoon drawings.

with caps, but the wall corbels were extended into half columns with cap and base, of smaller dimensions to, but agreeing with, the main columns, as in the Watergate Street crypt.

There is a curious sinking in the walls of the Eastgate Street crypt, occupying the whole of the first bay, which sets the wall back about three inches. There seems no practical reason why this should have been done, as no trade would need this unexplained set-off. The other features of the crypts will be referred to, and with these general remarks I will describe them individually. Doubtless most of you have become familiar with them, so I have considered it unnecessary to provide cartoon drawings, showing their appearance.

The oldest crypt is situate in Bridge Street, occupied by Mr. Newman. The front wall stands about eighteen yards from the line of the street, and the internal dimensions are, length, forty-two feet six inches, width, fifteen feet three inches, and height, fourteen feet six inches from the present floor line to top of groining ribs. The vaulting is finished with groining, divided into six bays, which are formed by plain splayed ribs springing from semi-coned corbels of plain character, the vaulting consisting of small stones similar to the general work in early English erections. In its original state this crypt would be but ten feet only in full height, with the floor about two feet six inches below the line of street, but at a subsequent date the owners have deepened the apartment some four feet by excavating in the rock, and lowering the floor to its present level. When performing this, to provide access to the staircase, the circular-shaped steps, now in the crypt, were shaped out of the natural rock, which still retains its "life," or moisture. This alteration must have taken place whilst the old staircase was still in use, otherwise the additional steps would

be useless. The staircase, just referred to, consists of stone steps (having stone bulkhead) leading to the kitchen above, the winders at the top having a turn to the right hand, so as to land directly over the crypt. Under one of the steps, now removed, is a cavity twelve inches long, six inches wide, and seven inches deep, evidently formed for the purpose of concealing treasures or money, for the preservation of which the hole has been lined and covered with oak. When discovered, a year or two back, the finder of this was unable to meet with the reward of "treasure trove," so much occupying the attention of officials, with probably little effect, as the aperture was quite empty. This is rather unfortunate, as substantial evidence is yet required to complete the history of even the crypts of Chester. This crypt is lighted by a triple lancet window of bold character, having transom; the jambs and mullions are of massive proportions, having deep splays, and the sill is about two feet above the original floor level. On either side of this window two apertures are formed in the walls, being almost square in height, width, and depth, which were used as cupboards, indications of the hinges being still visible. These cupboards are at such a level, relative to the present floor, as to be useless, having been formed for use prior to the lowering of the crypt floor. The small door to the staircase is an interesting piece of early English work, having a beautiful trefoiled head; the opening is six feet three inches high, and two feet three inches wide, and approached by the subsequently formed circular steps already mentioned. At the east end of the crypt, where the entrance now is, is a stone screen, with doorway, and two windows erected in 1839. This screen forms part of the thicker wall above it, which has a two-centred and chamfered arch, also modern. Though the crypt is damp and dismal now, owing to the extra excavation, its former

state must have been much brighter before the window was obscured by modern work.

There is one point that ought to be mentioned, if only for its curiosity, I had almost said absurdity. The Chester guide books call it a mediaeval chapel, I presume on the strength of what has been said before members of this Society. In vol. iii., p. 487, of the *Journal*, we read that "Dr Rock, a learned ecclesiologist, has said it was a mortuary chapel, not for the secret celebration of religious services, but probably a sort of private oratory." At the above reference it is stated that "if they examined it [the crypt] carefully they would find a dais as they entered it from the shop, and which he (Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes) had very little doubt was the foundation of the altar." I have searched for this evidence of the altar, but am convinced that the "dais" is really the top of the excavated rock which was not properly worked down to the line of built wall, when the crypt was deepened. Independent of the present window being at the west end, and therefore entirely unsuited for a religious purpose, it is not probable that two ends would be lighted by windows, nor need even a mediaeval chapel be placed at so low a level. The so-called aumbries are only mediæval cupboards, as before named, of a very ordinary pattern prevalent in most crypts. Whilst every reasonable argument is against its religious use, the existing, and neighbouring crypts occupied by Messrs. T. Q. Roberts and Co., and Messrs. Brown and Co., throws some comparative light upon the original intended use of these buildings.

Eastgate Street crypt, situate under Crypt Chambers, is the third earliest vaulted chamber left in Chester, under the Rows. It must have been erected within one hundred years of the completion of the one in Bridge Street. Its proportions are very good, as also is the effect of the groin-

ing ribs. The intermediate cross and the wall ribs add much effect to the view, and altogether a greater artistic feature is attained. The bold groining ribs spring from delicately moulded corbels, and are intersected at the apex by a continuous longitudinal rib. In the east wall is an opening, which once led to the circular staircase, giving access to the principal floor over. The entrance from the street is the best piece of archæological evidence existing in any of the crypts, as it assists to prove any reasonable theory advanced concerning the origin of the Rows. The entrance doorway is not early English and has been altered in no special style or early period, but the two single lancet windows are original, though portions of their arched heads are patched up with cement. The general dimensions of this crypt are, length forty-two feet seven inches, width thirteen feet ten and a half inches, and height thirteen feet.

The crypt in Watergate Street has been illustrated and briefly described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1864, p. 73. This brief description contains one glaring error, in saying "the crypt is supposed to have been built by Ranulph de Blondeville, sixth Norman Earl of Chester, about the year 1180." It is to be regretted that these suppositions are made without regard to the evidence, and is really equal to asserting that a Queen Victoria florin is supposed to have been struck in the time of George III. For this reason, that the architecture of the Watergate Street crypt is coeval with the death of Henry III., or nearly a century later than 1180. The latter date had not seen the commencement of early English style by nine years; the crypt itself bears evidence of having been erected after the rise of decorated Gothic, but before its full development. It differs from those already described by being double vaulted on columns, and the beauty of proportion is well shown in the view already mentioned. The dimen-

sions are, length, forty-four feet; width, twenty-two feet; height, eleven feet. It is entered from the street end, through two arches formed in the original external wall, and access to the house above was gained by a doorway in the south wall, still remaining and exhibiting a curious tapering in the width of the internal opening. This cellar entrance is called a "supposed communication with Messrs. Powell and Edwards' single crypt in Bridge Street." There are three cupboards in this crypt, one in the south wall, to which one of the hinges yet remains, and two in the second and fourth bays of the south wall. As already named, there are slight indications of decorated Gothic in this cellar; the octagon columns with their stopped bases, also the bases of the wall columns, are evidence of this, and I would place the date of its erection at 1290—1300.

There was an interesting crypt under the premises now occupied by Messrs. Beckett, of Eastgate Row, which is illustrated by a very poor woodcut in vol. ii. of the *Journal*, where at p. 410 the following particulars are recorded:—

"Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes early in the evening announced that, in conformity with a suggestion at the last meeting, the Council of the Society met, and agreed upon a form of memorial to Messrs. Beckett Bros., of Eastgate Row, requesting them to reconsider their determination to remove the very curious and beautiful crypt under their new premises. Mr. Ffoulkes read to the meeting a very civil letter from the Messrs. Beckett, explaining that immediately on receipt of the Council's memorial they sent for their architect from Liverpool, and charged him so to remodel, if possible, to save the crypt. The gentleman referred to, made the necessary examinations, and expressed his opinion that by taking out the panelling he could reduce the keystones to such a level as would save the substructure, but on attempting to carry this plan into effect, arch after

arch gave way, until it was pronounced unsafe to allow any portion to remain, and thus one other splendid relic of old Chester's ancient glory was swept away and destroyed. The Council desired at the same time fully to recognise the great willingness and anxiety evinced by Messrs. Beckett to carry out the wishes of the Society, and they could only lament that the attempt made in such excellent faith had proved such a consummate failure. The crypt, it will be remembered, consisted of a double row of arches, the junctions resting on massive but elegant columns. It is presumed that an arcade ran originally around the inner walls of the crypt, from the fact that on excavating immediately behind the structure, a number of round marble shafts, resembling Purbeck, were lately found lying heaped together in a square stone chamber, the four sides of which were on an inclined plane in a most unusual manner. One of the shafts referred to had been polished under Mr. Pullan's superintendence, and was found to possess a very rich grain."

The *Journal* is silent as to preserving any measured drawings or sketches of this crypt, so that further particulars as to its dimensions and the supposed arcade, also the inclined walls of the stone chamber, would be worthy of record, while as yet the chance remains. The above are the only vaulted cellars left to us, either in existence or description, but there are remains of other cellars which are at least three centuries old. Examples of these are the massive splayed two-centred arches under the old "Blue Posts Inn," and the premises of Messrs. J. R. Dutton and Sons, Bridge Street. These thick arches are too massive to serve the purpose of carrying the floor only, and must have supported the division wall of the older house, since taken down to adopt the premises to a more modern use.

The general character of the Chester crypts is identical

with that of others existing in various towns in England examples of which may have been studied by some of our members, whose observations will enable them to decide for themselves, for what purposes the crypts of Chester were intended, if they disagree with what I have written. The parallelism between the Chester crypts and others elsewhere is so clear that no further investigation need, I think, be made to prove that in their crypts, past and present, Christians possess beautiful examples of only a general, and not a special character, and that there is no necessity to assume the existence of any domestic crypt-chapels.

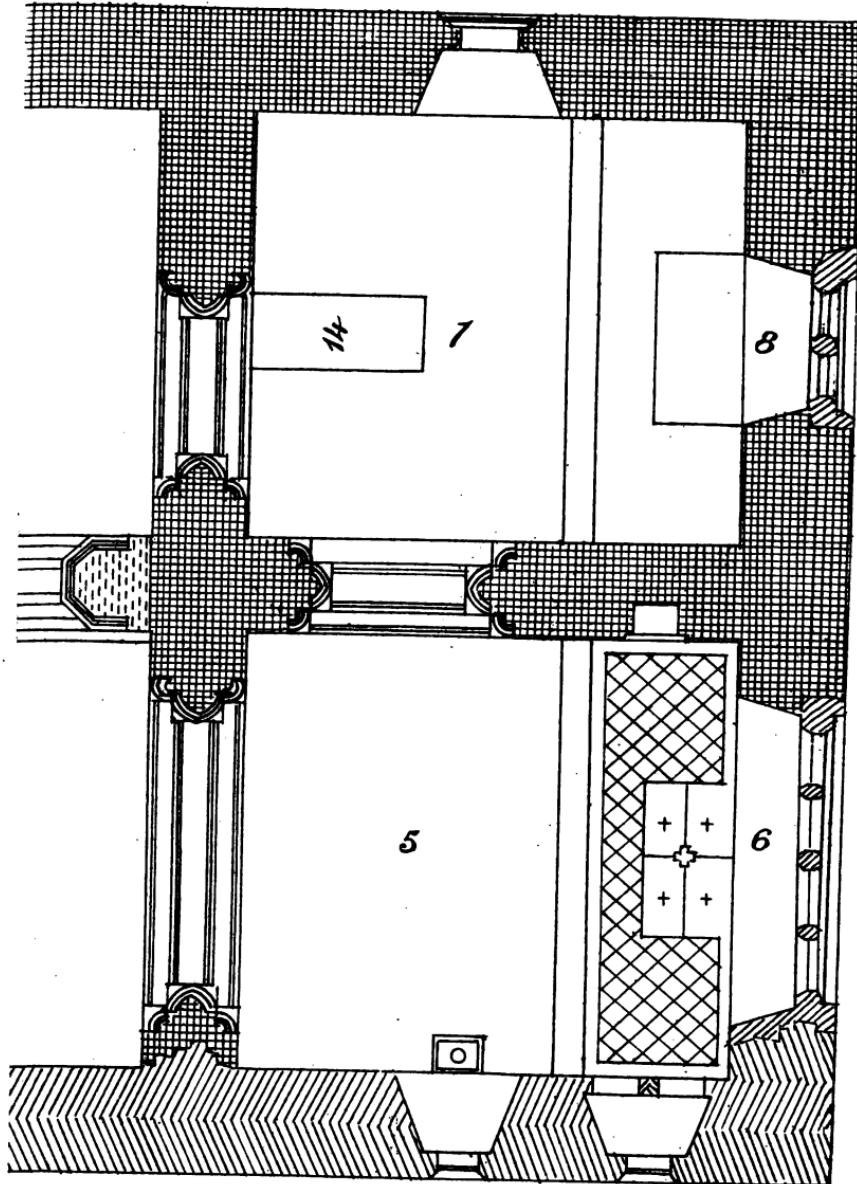




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1. Porch.
2. Tower.
3. Norman West Door, supposed position.
4. Norman NAVE.
5. " Chancel.
- 6 and 8. Edwardian East Windows inserted.
7. MORTUARY CHAPEL.
9. Tudor Windows inserted in.
10. TRANSITION AISLE.
11. Portions of Edwardian Tower and extension of N. AISLE.
12. FONT NORMAN.
13. North Door.
14. Supposed position of Wm. de Waller's Tomb.

GROUND PLAN OF THE OLD WALLASEY CHURCH.



NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF WALLASEY CHURCH.

BY EDWARD W. COX.

IN treating of the antiquities of the parish of Wallasey, I shall have to restrict myself chiefly to those particular portions of history and tradition which relate to its church and its many rebuildings. Not that there is not more of very great interest to speak of, but that this very wide subject could not be comprised in any one paper. If, however, I must omit so much, perhaps I can tell you something of a history to which, at present, I alone hold the master key; for I only have taken the trouble to classify the remains of the ancient churches of Wallasey. I recently saw in the *Liverpool Albion* a paper on Wallasey, in which this church was traced back to the fourteenth century. I think I can, with certainty, place it nearly three hundred years earlier than that, and, possibly, bring some evidence of its existence at a very much earlier time.

Of the early history of the parish of Wallasey, previous to *Doomsday Book*, I have been able to find no written trace, distinct from that general history of the county which is so fully and admirably given by Lysons, Ormerod, and Mortimer; nor do the Itineraries of Leland or Camden, nor King's *Vale Royal*, published in 1656, pass beyond

the date of the great Norman survey. Still, I think something more than surmises and conjectures may be recovered; partly from traditions that still linger about this yet somewhat primitive place, partly from place-names and field-names in the neighbourhood, and from the singular dedication of its ancient church.

The isolation of this parish was, within my own memory, almost complete. The north-eastern angle of Wirral, before the building of Birkenhead docks, was almost cut off from the rest of the peninsula by Wallasey Pool, by Bidston Marsh, and the rivers Birket and Fender. That it was ever wholly an island surrounded by the sea, during our epoch, I think is not only doubtful, but such tradition and semi-geological evidence as exists would argue the reverse. They show that the church-crowned hill of Wallasey stood far away from the sea, in the rear of a vast plain covered with woods stretching for many miles to seaward of the present shore line. Many of the local histories speak of a large bed of mussel shells, below Wallasey rectory, as a proof that the sea once flowed round this hill. To my mind they tell quite a different history, as I will try to show.

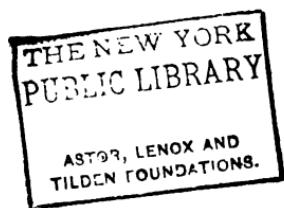
First, then, what does the name of Wallasey teach us? Wallas Ea, or Wealas Eye, is the Island of the Welsh, and the meaning of Weala is foreigner, or stranger. That gallant little nation whom we call Welsh, do not accept that name themselves. In their own language they are the Cymri, part of that Celtic kingdom of Cumbria, by the Romans called Cimbri, that so long withstood the Saxon invaders—a nation whom we still call Welsh, or Wealas, strangers. Coote, in his *Romans in Britain*, tells us that as the Saxons gradually extended their conquests over our island, they did not, as is commonly supposed, utterly exterminate the Romanised Britons, as Professor Freeman

alleges, for whilst it is true that their towns were sacked, their civilisation uprooted, and themselves slaughtered and enslaved, yet here and there, oppressed and impoverished, the old inhabitants were left, miserable enough, but with existence spared to them. The Saxon was not a dweller in towns, he was not a builder of castles and cities, he despised them, he was a herdsman or a cultivator of the ground, and it came to pass that here and there a remnant of the Romanised Britons were left among the ruins of their cities,¹ or were driven into remote corners of the land for refuge; and there, when they resisted no longer, were suffered to remain. These remnants of the older population the Saxon invaders called *Wealas*, strangers. How effective a fastness this more than half isolated tract of country would form, and how little worth it would be for the Saxon to overrun it, we may well judge to-day from its bare rocky hill, and tracts of marshes and sandhills, and, except for the loss of its woods, is nearly as wild as it could have been in Saxon times. We gather, therefore, from this name, given it by the Saxons, that they left this desolate tract to the fugitives, and as Cymry became to the Saxons Wales, this corner of Wirral became *Wallea*, or the *Wealas* Island. You will find in Wirral also the name of Willaston, which, I believe, may have the same derivation: The nomenclature of Wirral is chiefly Saxon, with some survival of British. I may speak further on of such combinations, but I would draw your attention to what may be, perhaps, a curious confirmation, if it be a confirmation at all, of this condition of things between Saxon and Briton which we have elicited from the name of Wallasey. In that *Doomsday Book*, where every house and landholder is supposed to be catalogued, we find in Wirral seven

¹ Chester itself was re-occupied by them after its capture by the Saxons.

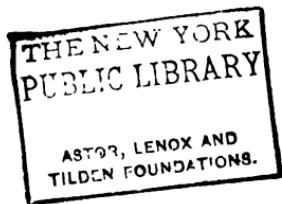
with that of others existing in various towns in England, examples of which may have been studied by some of our members, whose observations will enable them to decide for themselves, for what purposes the crypts of Chester were intended, if they disagree with what I have written. The parallelism between the Chester crypts and others elsewhere is so clear that no further investigation need, I think, be made to prove that in their crypts, past and present, Cestrians possess beautiful examples of only a general, and not a special character, and that there is no necessity to assume the existence of any domestic crypt-chapels.





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man in his turn shows for Uctred and his kin. We find the Norman Baron, Robert de Avranches, called de Rodelent, *i.e.*, Robert of Rhyddlan in Flintshire (where he built its noted castle, also that of Diganwy), owning this and a vast number of other confiscated estates. In Wirral alone he holds ten parishes, beside his possessions in Flintshire.

Although no historical record tells us that Robert built the Norman church of Wallasey, the discovery of some of its remains in 1856 makes it nearly certain that he did so; he is, moreover, described as both a valiant and pious man. He gave to the Norman abbey of Uttica the church of West Kirby, and, what our Blue Ribbon friends would consider a less creditable gift, his cellar of beer. He was slain in 1088 in endeavouring to repulse an incursion of the Welsh, against whom he rashly rushed attended by a single soldier, and though for his known valour they dare not even then approach him, he fell beneath a shower of arrows, and was buried in the abbey of St. Werburgh. He is spoken of as valiant, active, eloquent, liberal, and virtuous. The few remnants found of his church are almost certainly very distinctly early Norman in character, and though direct history is silent, I think we may reasonably claim him as the first rebuilder of the church of St. Hilary. That this was one of the great periods of church building in the district is evidenced by the fact that St. Anselm, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury and rebuilder of its cathedral, was brought in 1092 to assist in the rebuilding of St. Werburgh's Abbey (now Chester Cathedral).

It is scarcely likely that during the fifty stormy years that followed this time there was much church building. Between the incursions of the Welsh into Wirral, and the struggles of the Norman soldiers with the dispossessed Saxons, who had become freebooters, and the wasting of

the farms so that they might afford no sustenance to the invader, all Wirral fell into a miserable condition. At last, in 1120—1123, Randal, the fourth Earl of Chester, caused all the farms to be destroyed, the boundaries of property to be removed, and Wirral afforested. Nor was it again disafforested till the reign of Edward III. In the troublesome reign of King Stephen, under Randal, fifth Earl of Chester, 1128, troops were withdrawn for the war; and this was followed by a Welsh invasion. Henry, of Huntingdon, says they made great store of spoil and devastation, and they ravaged the country as far as Nantwich. At this time Randal's church must have fallen into ruin, possibly by fire,¹ for again we fall in with an old tradition that Wallasey Church was thrice burnt, and has been twice a church without a tower, and once a tower without a church, and I think I can show from the restorations that this legend has some truth.

Having hitherto tried to trace the history of Wallasey church through those periods during which we have no direct written history, we come at last to definite and clear records. In the reign of Henry II., William de Walleia gives to the high altar of St. Hilary's church, and to the priest, for ever, those two fields with British names, the Ton Crook Hey and the Nar Crook Hey, in exchange for a burial place in the chancel of this church. The deed existed late in the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century, but recent search has failed to find it. A schoolmaster, named Robinson, who wrote a history of Wallasey, still existing in manuscript, and from which Bishop Gastrell made extracts in 1718, saw this deed. The remains found prove that William de Walleia did more

¹ The *Norman* stones taken out of the wall were burned almost to dust, as though they had suffered a previous burning.

than make this gift. He must have rebuilt the chancel and a mortuary chapel for himself, which stood till the seventeenth century. He also gave one mediety of the advowson to the abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester, and it is now held by the Dean and Chapter of Chester Cathedral. The priory of Birkenhead, founded in 1150 by Hamon de Masci (Ormerod erroneously says 1250), held the other mediety; and tradition and Robinson speak of a second chapel served by this priory in North Liscard, called Lees Kirk, and of a third chapel, once standing on land now covered by the sea at Leasowe, but of these all historical traces are most obscure. We will rather trace that history which gives us either definite records or remains.

Now the five rebuildings of Wallasey Church seem all to have taken place at marked periods, during which this waste corner of Cheshire has been the scene of great military movements, which doubtless helped to bring into prominence this otherwise remote district. The first we have noticed at the Conquest, the second is that of the invasion of Ireland by Henry II., whose troops were shipped via Chester and Meols; the third in the reign of Edward I. and II., when Wales was overcome, and the invaders passed through Chester. The fourth building succeeded the time of Henry VII., in whose wars the Welsh took so prominent a part, and the fifth was not far removed from the expedition to Ireland by William III., who embarked at Hoylake.

It is not my intention to detain you by details belonging to the general history of these expeditions. There is only one record of the occupation of this place by the army of the Parliament, and it is found in the manuscript history of Robinson. He tells us that Cromwell's soldiers made the churchyard cross a target for their musket practice, and we thus learn from this same record that there was a

churchyard cross, four yards high, on steps. It was finally broken by William III.'s men of the Charles galley (was this one of William's transport ships?), and then used to build the churchyard steps, and a man called Cotton was he who "hewed off the curious cutting upon it."

It was about the time of William III. that the fifth rebuilding of the church took place; the exact year is unknown. All the structure, with its rebuildings from 1080 to 1530, except the tower and the western end of the north aisle, was taken down; and on the old foundations was built the plain edifice some of us remember; it was plain even to ugliness; yet a certain respect was shown to the ancient remains of the former churches. The sculptured and moulded stones were not all chopped down, but their wrought faces were turned inwards, and so they all escaped serious damage. The whitewash remained on many, and rude pickings out of architectural lines in red.

I have been blamed by a noted antiquary for placing any dependence on this MS. history of Robinson's. His knowledge of ancient history is quite untrustworthy and ludicrous. But I hold that if a man be ever so ignorant, if he will but record with exactness the occurrences coming to his knowledge, in his own neighbourhood, and tell such things as he himself has seen and known, he may well count in a few generations as having added his quota to history. Take only one instance: Robinson, who doubtless saw the old church, says it was in two bays, and had a notable chancel arch different from the rest. Before I knew anything of his history I worked out a church of two bays, with a wonderfully beautiful chancel arch, from the old stones and measurements; also a south door inserted in the Norman wall, which he also mentions. Again, to him the rising of Sir G. Booth in 1659, and the doings of Cromwell's soldiers were recent history, and it is for us to

search the legends handed down by him to find whether they contain some germ of truth, or give us a clue to any historical event. Take this instance: Randle Holme gives the arms of William de Walleia, a bend or, maled; he omits the colour of the field. Robinson says these arms were in the south window in *red* glass; he knows nothing of heraldry, but gives us the colour of the missing field, enabling us to complete the coat of arms.

This MS. contains interesting records of the rectors of Wallasey, from 1301 downwards. We can only glance at one or two. In 1368 protection is granted to R. Kely, who went in the service of King Edward III. in Scotland, in the train of Hugh Leagrove, treasurer of England. We know what sort of service King Edward III. wanted there, it was plenty of hard fighting, though in the year Kely marched there was little fighting. Then we have the smart business man Dr. Snell, who rebuilt the rectory (1632); and who made so much out of the dilapidation claims on the former one, which was thatched, as to enable him to build a new one. The same Dr. Snell, who was archdeacon of Chester, was a Royalist and he had to compound for his estate during the Commonwealth. We have also Edward Harrison, who was put in by the Commonwealth, and who was "frighted into his grave" by the premature rising of Sir G. Booth, in favour of the king.

We have something, too, of the character of the parishioners, especially of one iconoclastic, James Ball, who cut the copy of W. de Walley's deed out of the register, and who broke up one of the parish boundary stones with a sledge-hammer. Something we have, also, of the old custom of beating the bounds, and the places where they halted to sing the service and read epistle and gospel, though how the bounds were traversed, being for the most part below tide mark and through the centre of Wallasey

Pool, does not appear. The process seems to have consisted of going in procession to various fixed points in the parish during three days, and there performing portions of the church service, and afterwards feasting at certain houses.

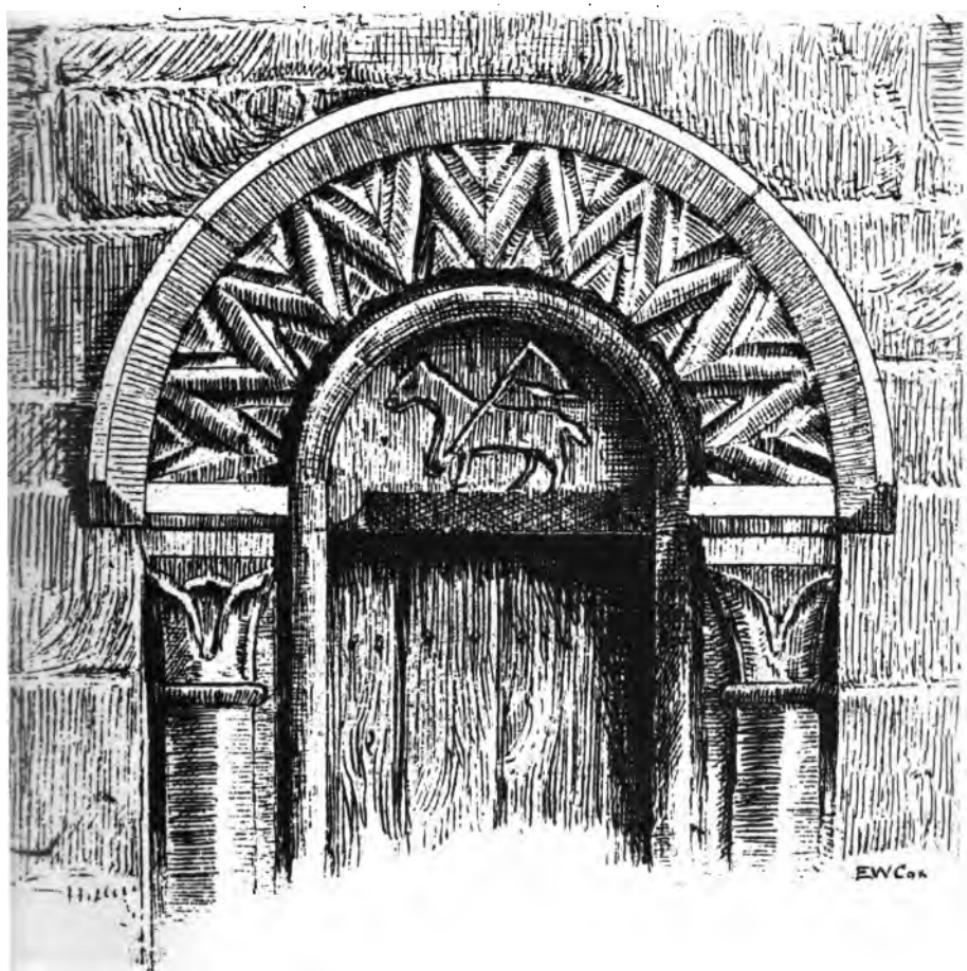
It is now time to speak of the fabric of Wallasey Church. On the first February, 1856, about sunrise, this fifth ancient church of Wallasey, with the transeptal additions made in 1837, was destroyed by fire. Long before the engines could arrive every fragment that would burn was consumed. Nothing but the strong stone walls of the church and tower remained standing, and the bells lay in a heap within the tower. While the ruins were still smoking I went to examine them, and noticed in the interior of the south wall, which the bonfire of high pews and heavy galleries had stripped of every fragment of plaster, a few moulded stones. The late Thomas Bouch, senior, was at that time a churchwarden, and after pointing out these stones to him, I made a request, to which he willingly agreed, that when the ruins were removed, all cut and moulded stones should be put aside for examination. I venture to think that from these remnants I have been able not only to recover most of the traces of at least five separate, partial, or entire rebuildings of the church (those from the eleventh century downwards being very clear), but also to recover a few facts as to the builders of this structure, and some data of this parish, which may possibly assist to bring some of those floating traditions, which are kept alive in so many of our country places, into the region of history. Though such analysis of ancient remains must always be widely open to reconsideration, I have endeavoured to reconcile the existence of these remains with known historic facts and with the leading principles of construction that actuated the minds and lives of our forefathers.

The church as it stood in 1856 consisted of a tower

sixty-five feet high, twenty-one feet wide, and eighteen feet from east to west. The date (1530) was cut upon it and was found on some of the interior timbers. The body of the church was one great oblong room, with a flat ceiling, sixty feet by forty feet, exterior measure. It had an east window of the pattern called Venetian, one round-headed light in the centre, divided from two square flanking lights by round pillars, and three round-headed windows on each side. Chancel there was none, and a heavy gallery ran round three sides. On the north side of the tower was the only remnant of the old church, one bay of the north aisle.

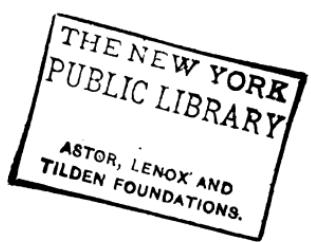
It may justly be said that the building of late seventeenth century date was nearly everything a church should *not* be; that the additions of 1837 were in worse taste than the seventeenth century portions; and that the whole combined, in an eminent degree, the ignorance of the seventeenth with the pretentious meanness of the nineteenth century, and constituted what used to be called in one's boyhood an extremely neat edifice!

The first church, of which any remains were found built into the walls, was an early Norman one, and the fragments consisted of the font, disinterred from the north-west corner of the interior of the church, and now in the rectory garden; the bowl of a small square Norman *piscina*; one *voussoir*, or arch-stone of a small doorway, on which was cut a chevron or zigzag moulding; and the tympanum which had filled in the arched portion of this very small doorway, on which was rudely incised the figure of a lamb carrying a banner, of the same peculiar triangular form that we find on the Bayeux tapestry. Only four stones in all, from which to reconstruct the Norman church, but all having a strongly-marked character. What the church was that preceded this Norman structure we can only surmise. From its having disappeared at the time of the conquest it



PRIEST'S DOOR, WALLASEY OLD CHURCH.

(Restored from fragments.)



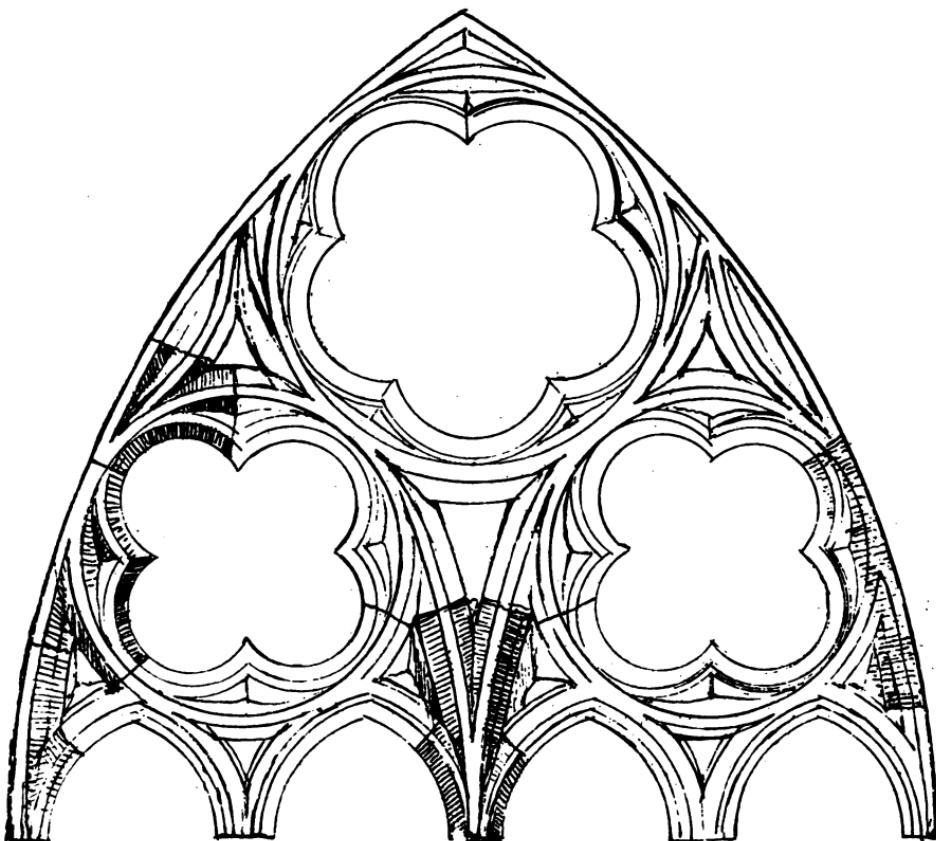
may have been of some perishable material, probably wood. One of the adjacent townships is still called Woodchurch. The church of Germanus, at Llan Armon (*i.e.*, church of Germanus), Bede says, was constructed of wattled boughs. Whatever Wallasey church had been, we are now certain that an early Norman church, of whose building there is no more record than that of any earlier one, stood there. Between the years 1162 to 1182 William de Walley desired a burial place in its chancel; we know, therefore, that it had a chancel.

In order to recover the form and dimensions of this Norman church, it was necessary to make a very careful series of calculations, based on the known practice of mediæval builders of working out their dimensions on symbolical numbers. It was evident from the scanty remains of foundations left on the northern and western sides that the church of the seventeenth century followed the old outer foundation lines. This late church was thrown into one ungainly area of sixty feet by forty feet, external measure. The north aisle was run out past the tower and measured eighty-four feet long. The walls were three feet six inches thick. Now the length sixty feet is a multiple of both three and of five, the breadth a multiple of five, but for a long time the interior measures puzzled me. By taking the church to have been originally a simple oblong, without aisle, of sixty feet by twenty-two feet externally, and comparing these dimensions with fragments of the ancient foundations and by sorting the fragments found in the walls, all the structures have been recovered, and even some of their fittings indicated and the purpose of their builders ascertained.

We thus obtain the Norman building with a chancel of twenty feet by fifteen feet interior, based on the figure five; a nave of fifteen feet by thirty-six feet six inches, whose sym-

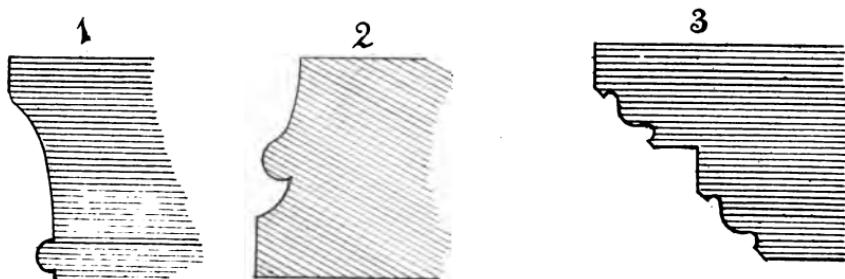
bolical working number is three; and the thickness of two side walls added together, which we know to have been three feet six inches thick, give the other working number of seven. Most likely the dividing wall between chancel and nave was three feet thick, through which opened the original chancel arch carrying a bell-cot. Judging from these proportions and from the height of the side walls of fifteen feet, which we ascertain by the traces of the ancient roof lines on the existing tower, the Norman nave must have had three side windows, the chancel two on each side, repeating thus the numbers three and five, and the door I judge to have been at the west end. That this was the form of the ancient church is almost certain, because late in the thirteenth century a tower was built against the west end of this church, which previously possessed none. The two arches of the first tower still exist, and the arch corbels before the fire showed mouldings of late decorated date older than the rest of the tower, dated 1530, and this thirteenth century tower had never keyed into the masonry of the older wall; it was built up, against it, and the west end of the church was taken out to extend its area into the tower, and, together with its Norman door, the materials were built into the new tower, where most likely they still are. This will account for no trace or fragment of the Norman west door being found built in the seventeenth century walls, the thirteenth century tower had already absorbed them, and the very fact of their absence may prove the west door's former existence.¹ Moreover, I did find one stone of a door jamb, with mouldings of the thirteenth century, very little weathered. Now the stones that came out of

¹ The measurements prove this west door still more plainly. The chancel would be twenty feet long to the western side of chancel arch, the nave thirty-six feet to the *outside* of western wall, therefore, it was measured through the opening of the west door, just as the chancel was to the west side of its arch.



TRACERY OF EAST WINDOW.

Shaded parts are the portions found.



MOULDINGS.

1. Capital, Nave.

2. Base, Nave.

3. Jamb of South Door.

DETAILS: WALLASEY OLD CHURCH.

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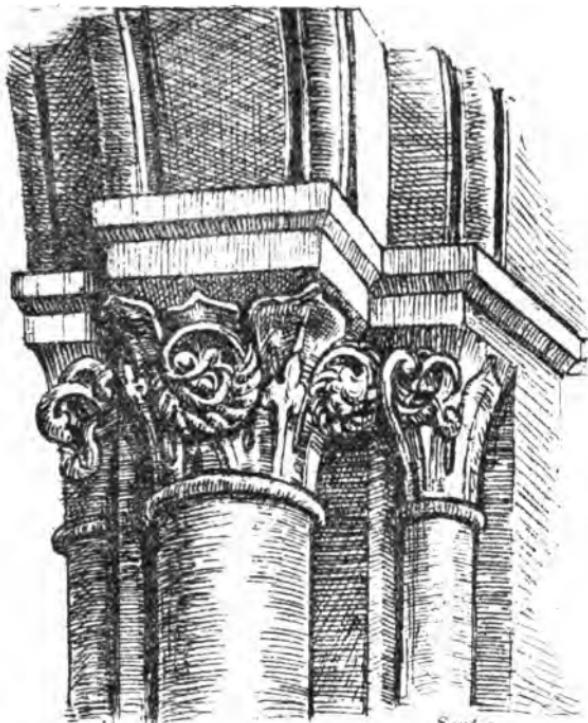
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

the wall were all distinguishable as exterior or interior stones, the latter were coated thickly with whitewash, the others weathered, some more, some less. This stone was external, but little weathered, as if it had stood under a porch. I consider that when the west door was taken away, the inconvenience of a western access from the lower slope of the hill through the new tower was so great that the builders broke a new door through the Norman south wall, and added a porch, evidence of whose existence I will afterwards point out. The small voussoir and tympanum plainly belonged to a small priest's door in the chancel. The font is large and circular, having an arcade of round arches about it, and a chevron above them. This was the Norman church ; to this the second rebuilding was added between the years 1162 to 1182 by William de Walley.

Whether or not the Norman church was ruined, the purpose of *this* rebuilding is very clear. It is stated in the deed of gift to be the desire for a burial place in the chancel, though of the building, history is silent. Of this structure, the ruins disclosed two magnificent sculptured capitals, which I allotted to the chancel arch. Fragments of four other capitals, of smaller size, placed as belonging to the mortuary chapel, built by William de Walleia, belong to two arches, one opening into the chancel, one westwards into the north aisle, which he added to the nave. With these were portions of the shafted and moulded piers, in very good condition, and freshly whitewashed, nearly stones enough to have rebuilt the responds. None of these belonged to detached pillars, they were all responds, showing them to have been arches in a wall, not parts of an arcade. There were small fragments of bases, and the chancel capitals and part of the piers of the mortuary were mutilated by cutting places for the insertion of later screens of wood. In working out the restoration of these

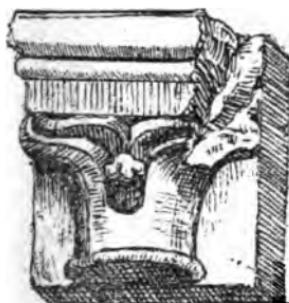
piers, and their arches, following the usual proportions, the symbolic numbers, 3, 5, and 7, were very strikingly confirmed. I worked out these three arches from their actual remains, and the proportions fell exactly into the measures I had previously worked out, also they corresponded with the indications of the height of the walls and pitch of the roof, still visible on the tower. William brought his church to an interior breadth of thirty-three feet in two aisles, and sixty feet in length, the separating arcade having a thickness of three feet. These measures are not guess work; they were taken, partly, from the remains left against the tower, and from the then existing foundations. It appeared from the stones of these three arches that the west one leading from the mortuary to the aisle had not stood in the centre, but was drawn in toward the chancel. From this, I at first inferred that the aisle of the 1162 to 1182 rebuilding had a lean-to roof, that the arch was made of the same size as that on the side of the chancel, and unless it were so brought in, the height of the lean-to roof would not admit it. I also thought the tomb of W. de Walley stood under the arch leading into the chancel; this was a very usual position, and nearest the chancel where he wished to lie.

But in making out the enlarged plan for this lecture and still musing upon the possible reasons for this curious gathering together of the piers in the centre of the church, I found good reason to change this view. I noticed as I put in the lines of the plan that this group and the ground plan of the arches formed an almost perfect monumental cross, of which these piers form the centre. The church walls are a plain unbuttressed parallelogram, resembling an ancient gravestone, and upon this the ground plan of the arches forms just such a cross as might be cut upon a gravestone. Now this twelfth century rebuilding of the

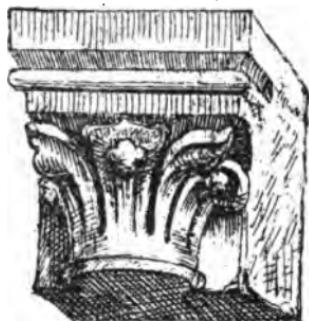


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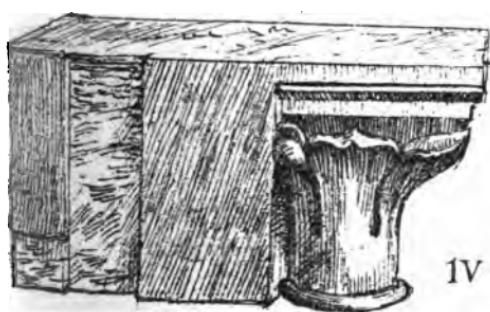
Evles



11



111



1V



V

I. Capital of Chancel Arch.

II., III., IV. Capital of N. Aisle, E. Arch, and S.E. Arch of Chapel.

V. Small Norman Capital.

DETAILS: WALLASEY OLD CHURCH.



church was to fit it for the burying-place of W. de Walley, and it flashed upon me that this was no accident of the design. Other churches bear the form of a cross in the outline of their outer walls; this one bore the cross enshrined as it were within it. I had placed the tomb of De Walley under the side arch, that being nearest the older chancel where he desired to lie, but with this revelation of the design in my mind I altered its possible place to the centre of the west end of the chapel. I was surprised to find that it fitted exactly to one side of this western arch, which I had worked from measurements only, leaving a sufficient entrance, and not only lying in front of the centre of the altar of the mortuary chapel, but the other arch just permitted the centre of the high altar to be seen from the spot where the head of him who lay there would be placed; and more than this, in that age a cross would always be associated with the figure of our Lord, and were this cross a crucifix the head of the man who slept in a tomb so placed would rest upon the right arm of the Saviour.

This completes what we can recover of the second rebuilding, made at a time when Wirral was the busy scene of Henry II.'s embarkation of troops to Wales and Ireland. I must detain you a moment to tell you a legend connected with it. Robinson, in his manuscript history written early in the eighteenth century, says that the chancel arch was different from the others, that there was a tradition that it was built by a master builder who came with his workmen out of the wood, that he returned, refusing all payment and wages. Who was the master builder? truly a master of his art. Where was the wood? Is there any foundation for the tale? The moment I saw this work I said at once this came from the same hand that built Furness Abbey.

At that period the greater part of North Lancashire

was moor, and moss, and forest, and so remained till the reign of Henry VII. Was this the wood? Only recently I have learned that in a very ancient pedigree of a family at Saughall, in Wirral, one of the heraldic bearings corresponds very closely with those common among the ancient families near Furness. Can anyone versed in heraldry trace out this clue? For myself the style and manner of handling in such work comes almost as familiarly as the identification of a handwriting to an expert, and I judge that the man who wrought and designed these stones wrought those of Furness as well.

We come now to the third partial rebuilding. In the reign of Edward I., Wirral was again the scene of expeditions against Wales. The many passengers crossing the Mersey and Wirral had become so onerous to the priors of Birkenhead, who held the rights of ferry, that in the following reign a license to erect houses of entertainment was granted to the prior. Doubtless Wallasey shared the prosperity caused by this traffic. Birkenhead Priory had the mediety of the advowson of Wallasey. Now came the building of the west tower of which I have spoken, doing away with the old west door, a south door and porch were opened, and the north aisle lengthened westward. This aisle is thrust several feet westward of the tower, in order to give its whole length the symbolic number of eighty-four feet, twelve times seven. At the same time a decorated four-light window was put into the chancel, and a plainer two-light window in the east of the north aisle, of which enough fragments were found to make a restoration. To this aisle, a fine sixteenth century roof, was added in the next rebuilding, and remained till the fire of 1856. An old inhabitant says that in some repairs fifty years ago a blue ground and gold stars were found on it.

This early tower probably had a spire like Bebington, and

was a very solid structure; its eastern and northern arches remain, now closed up, also one north-east buttress, and the masonry to a few courses above the roof ridge of the church of 1162-82. I conclude that the marks of the weathering of the roof left on this tower, and not worked in stone but in mortar, prove that the roof that butted against it was that of the transitional church left standing till the seventeenth century. I can only account for the need for rebuilding of this strong tower in 1530, from its destruction by one of those traditional fires. The present tower was substantially little injured by its burning, but if the fourteenth century tower was capped by a spire, the stone capping would throw any fire strongly through the windows and crack the tower, and the thrust of the spire outwards would throw it down. The rebuilding of this tower as it now stands brings us to the date of the fourth rebuilding in 1530.

At that time the present tower was raised, leaving only two arches of the older one. I found fragments of the base capital, and shafts of the nave arcade, the springing and stones of its low flat four-centred arches, of the same date, 1530, that replaced the early transition arcade of 1180. Also fragments of square three or four-light aisle windows were found, all going to prove that the alterations of 1530 might have been needful if these features of the church had been damaged by the fall of a spire on the north aisle. Of the same late date, also, was the fine oak roof of the north-west aisle panelled in quatrefoils, which remained till 1856. I worked out these fragments of the nave arcade as having formed two nave arches.

The same symbolical measures of three, five, and seven seem to have ruled this fourth repair. I will not weary you with more of this, suffice to say that they were measured and calculated out, and every remnant found, fitted quite natu-

rally into its place. It may be that this fourth re-building, in 1530, arose from the fact that presages of the confiscation of monastic property are known to have induced much building before the suppression of the monasteries, Henry VIII. wanted money, and the rich monasteries feared the appropriation of their funds. In order to prevent this, the monasteries, that they might seem to have little to tempt the plunderer, in the shape of loose cash, freely laid out their funds in buildings and improvements. St. Werburgh's abbey, at Chester, may have done this for Wallasey, in 1530. The abbeys of Bolton-in-Wharfdale, Bath, and Strata Florida, are instances ; they were actively building when the Reformation stopped the work. St. Werburgh's abbey, in Chester, was then unfinished. The building of this period is abundant in churches throughout the kingdom. The fifth rebuilding was of that Jacobean church, which, with additions of 1837, lasted till our time, and was the neat structure of our youth.

It remained for our own archæological and enlightened age to disperse and destroy the relics, spared even on the fifth rebuilding, but not till I had carefully sorted them into their places, to the best of my knowledge. Bishop Gastrell (1708—1723), in writing of Wallasey, mentions two churches, one in the churchyard, one supposed to be at Liscard called Lees Kirk ; one was ruinous, and the other wanted a priest, so both were taken down and the materials employed to build this fifth church. The want of a priest may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that John Harvey, rector of Wallasey, was among the ejected ministers at the restoration, and he became pastor of a dissenting congregation in Chester, and died 28th November, 1699. The church of Wallasey, judging from its remnants, was not ruinous ; that at Liscard may have been. So little is known of this Lees Kirk that its existence is doubted, but it

is suggested that this chapel was served by the Præmonstratensian monks of Birkenhead, who held half the patronage of Wallasey. When this fifth church stood in ruins in 1854, it was plainly observable that the walls to two-thirds of their height were built of old stones of grey sandstone from the ancient church ; above this they were of smaller red stones, of a character like that of Liscard, where the Lees Kirk was supposed to have stood in a lane called the Kirkway ; these may well have been the relics of Lees Kirk. And with these remarks I must draw these scattered and imperfect notes to a close.

Since the above was written, I have learned that when the sister church of West Kirby was restored, traces of an aisleless Norman church, such as I have attributed to Wallasey, were found. The church at Bruera, which is partly Norman and stands on its original lines, is also a similar structure to the Norman church of Wallasey, and some of its mouldings correspond with those found at Wallasey, but are a little earlier in character than those of William de Walleia's church.





THE TRAFFIC BETWEEN DEVA AND THE COAST OF NORTH WALES, IN ROMAN TIMES.

BY GEORGE W. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S.

THIS subject is one which has not previously been under consideration. Of late years various facts have come to light, which seem to me to afford material for the discussion of this question.

The existence of a traffic, such as I have indicated, seems highly probable. Deva we must think of, not only as a walled castrum, a military fortress, but as the seat of government for the north-west provinces and North Wales, just as Eburacum (York) was for the more northern provinces of Britain. We may reasonably infer, that whatever the Romans thought proper to impose upon the surrounding tribes, in the shape of tribute or taxes, either in money or in kind, would be payable or deliverable by the tribes at Deva. Here we have at once the commencement of what might in time develop into a regular trade route, even supposing that trade had not already begun to gravitate towards that place. It is worth notice that this traffic, initiated in Roman times, is still in active operation in our day. In the one article of lead there are brought into Chester by water, along the route followed by the Romans, many hundreds of tons annually, the produce of the lead mines of North Wales.

We will proceed now to examine what traces we have of this ancient traffic. The first question we have to ask is, what were the facilities for water traffic then existing? We must regard the Roodeye as the port of Chester in the past. Here we have something to unlearn. When Deva was in existence, the greater part of the Roodeye was covered with water, having deep water in front of and up to the present Watergate. The evidence for this we have in the discoveries, made in June last on the site of the gas works. In an excavation made to receive a gas-holder, at the depth of twenty-three feet, there was found ordinary river gravel charged with fragments of Roman pottery and bones of living animals. The age of this material is placed beyond doubt, by the finding among it a pig of lead, bearing an inscription corresponding to the year 74 A.D. From the gas works, we proceed to the open space in front of the Watergate. Here in 1874, in the excavation for the sewer, the same river gravel was met with, containing a profusion of Roman pottery, much of it, of course, broken, yet containing many fine examples of Roman workmanship, including no fewer than eight antifixes. Passing under and along the walls southward, for some two hundred yards, we come to the corner of Black Friars. At this point the excavations in 1874, of which we have spoken above, showed that here existed at one time a branch of the river which ran at the back of Black Friars, and under the present walls, from an eastward direction. It was over one hundred yards wide. One thing about it is very sure, that it was an open water-way in Roman times, since the infilling material contained débris, dating from Roman to the present time.

We have now traced the river at three points: at Black Friars; along and under the walls to the Watergate; and from there to the site of the gas works, where we have

undeniable evidence of a deep channel of water connected with the river Dee, at a point where its waters were more than a mile in width. It was a branch of what was then a noble stream. The accumulation of twenty-three feet of material, since Roman times, over much of this area, is certainly a noticeable fact. There was at the beginning of this century some remnant of this old water-way. I allude to the drain which took the drainage of the south-western part of the city, and which ran at the back of Black Friars, across the Roodeye to Wilcox's Point, in front of the gas works. This may be regarded as the shrunken representative of the old channel.

The Roodeye, which now virtually faces the whole of the western front of the wall, was, as we have seen, covered by a considerable depth of water. The silting up commenced first, and arose in both instances from a projection of rock, around which as a nucleus the silt accumulated. The point of rock near the castle has been taken advantage of, to form the embankment leading to the Grosvenor Bridge. The other is opposite to the infirmary, and is evidenced by the scarped rock face there to be seen under the walls. With the silt gathering in this way at either corner of the walls, we can understand how the open channel for navigation would be at a point somewhere between the two, just where in fact we found the river gravel. As to the later silting up of the river, all our historical records go to show, that it followed closely upon the erection of the dam across it in Norman times. In connection with this growth of land, we may notice the evidence to be gathered from the older maps of the district. The oldest map of Chester shows that in the time of Queen Elizabeth, *circa* 1574, three-masted vessels sailed past the Watergate. Another map, two hundred years later (1753), shows the same area enclosed by land, and ships of

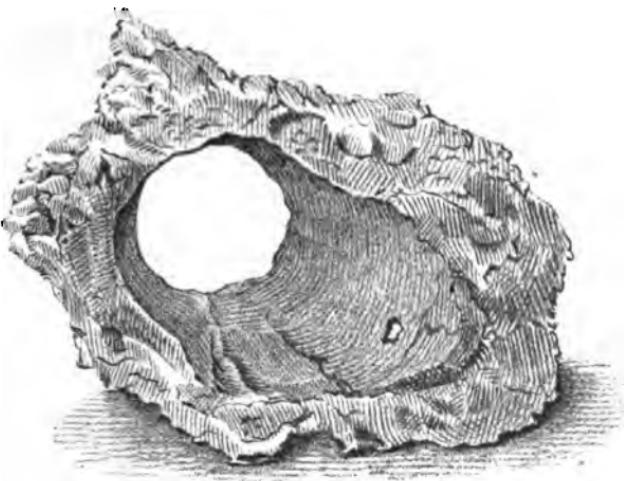
fair size moored close by the Water Tower. Fifty years later, even this condition of things came to an end, and the iron rings fastened in the walls of the Water Tower are the only indications left of the former traffic.

From the consideration of water-way we pass naturally to the question of boats, with which to carry on the traffic. It is true that as yet we have found no remains of boats in the silt; nor is it necessary for our purpose. The people, who could transport legions across the English channel, would not experience any difficulty in providing vessels wherewith to navigate the Dee. Indeed we have them specifically mentioned by Tacitus, as in use along the same coast of Wales by Sergius Paulinus, for the transport of troops across the Menai Straits, for the invasion of Anglesea. This was in A.D. 59, while the earliest pig of lead found about here, and we doubt not the subject of this traffic, bears the date of A.D. 74. Looking to the ample supply of timber provided by the forests around Deva, we may reasonably conclude that the boats used by Paulinus were built at Deva. We have not as yet found here any inscription mentioning the Classiarii, or Marines. Such a body of troops we doubt not formed at one time part of the legionary staff of the 20th Legion. No remains then of boats used in this river traffic have as yet been found, but we have something else. Landing-places for traffic, in however primitive a way constructed, are almost indispensable on a river such as our own, with its treacherous clay banks. The excavations at the gas works have not only demonstrated the existence of a deep channel, but also of a bank of clay close by parallel with it. The important thing is, that there was found lying across the cutting a quantity of wrought oak timbers, which from their arrangement could only have been used as the main supports for a stage or wharf in front of the clay bank. They were not

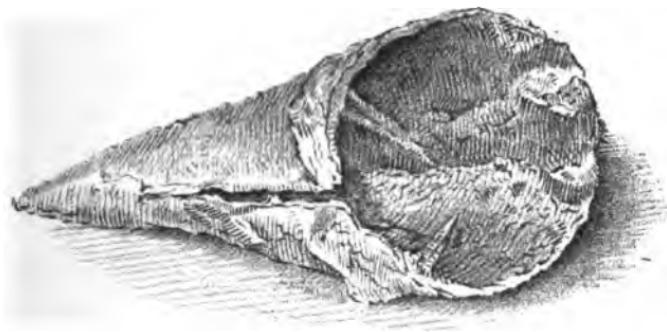
in their original position, but inclined in various directions, as if they had fallen after having been undermined. As there can be no question about the piles being Roman, a description of them will not be out of place. Young oak trees, from some of our forests, had evidently been utilised. Each pile was very carefully tapered off at the extremity, from eleven inches wide at the top to half an inch at the base. The proper length could not be ascertained, since only eight and a half feet were removed, the part in fact which obstructed the excavation. Each pile at the point was protected by an iron shoe fifteen inches long and a quarter of an inch thick, secured by iron nails. The pile had further been bedded in concrete, much of which is still adherent. The points of these oaken piles have, agreeably to the instructions of Vitruvius, been subjected to the action of fire. A good example of one of these piles and its shoe is now in the Archaeological Museum. An interesting account of a similar find of Roman oaken piles has been given by the Rev. Dr. Bruce, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.¹

The next point of interest is the open space in front of the Watergate. Across this point, from north to south, the sewer was carried in 1874, at a depth of fifteen to eighteen feet, through silt and gravel. In its course a line of oaken posts was encountered, placed east and west. To connect these with a wharf, or landing-place suitable for the present Watergate, was a difficulty, owing to their direction. The later discovery on the site of the gas works has made it intelligible. Alongside of the river channel, which ran from the Watergate to Wilcox's Point, was a clay bank, and on the sides of this at intervals there has been a wharf or landing-place built up of these oaken timbers. We have found them at either end of the bank, and probably these

¹ *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. x., pp. 1-11.



IMPRESSION OF IRON SHOE OF OAK PILE.



POINTED END OF IRON SHOE.

OTHER REMAINS,
FOUND AT THE ROODEYE, 1885.

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errections extended more or less along its entire length. This in itself is suggestive of a considerable traffic in and out of the port of Deva. It would also allow vessels to discharge cargo at all conditions of the tides, whether neap or spring. In short, it was a Roman high and low water landing-stage.

So far our inquiry has been limited to Deva. We have indicated the river and the needful appliances for commerce. The question now arises with what towns or stations was the traffic carried on. I propose to limit myself in this inquiry to the coast of North Wales. At the furthest point we have Holyhead, Carnarvon (Segontium), and Caerhun (Conovium). The only mineral wealth around these places is copper, and of this we find a trace at Caerhun (Conovium), on the Conway river, in the cake of copper found here in the last century, marked *Socio Romae*, and now preserved at Mostyn Hall. Between Caerhun and Deva the road is inland, and there are no other itinerary stations along the coast, that will fall in with our purpose. We must remember, however, that there are other towns and stations besides those mentioned in the *Itinerary of Antoninus*. Ravenna's anonymous geographer mentions one such town, which he places between Deva and Conovium (Caerhun). The name is Sandonium. The latter part of this word is seen on the pig of lead found in Common Hall Street. Mr. Thompson Watkin has gone fully into the question, and I think proves that Sandonium was situated near Flint.¹ Here we may remark that along the coast, the centre of the lead industry is at the present, as it has been in the past, in the locality of Flint, a position which answers to the location of it by Ravenna's work, as being between Deva and Conovium. That this conjecture is

¹ Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, pp. 161-162.

correct, is seen when we remember the singular mineral wealth of the district. In the range of hills, which run parallel with the coast, we have a succession of carboniferous rocks, which furnish excellent clay for pottery, limestone in abundance, and many varieties of coal, as well as the ores of lead and zinc. That wealth of this kind would be neglected, with the building of the Devan castrum in hand, is not probable. That this neighbourhood has not been overlooked, and that Flint has been a Roman settlement, there can be no doubt after the discovery of the Roman relics recorded by Pennant. More to our purpose is the fact that with these remains there have been found, extending for a mile or more along the shore, furnaces and hearths which have been used in the manufacture of lead from the native ore. This circumstance has been happily preserved for us in the Welsh name Pentre-ffwrn-dan, the villa of the burning furnace. This, taken in conjunction with the remains of hypocausts, clearly establishes the production of lead on the site under Roman superintendence. Here then we have the production on the spot of lead, a prime article of commerce in those days, one extensively used in the production of water pipes, lamps, ossuaria, coffins, weights, stamps, etc. Examples of these will be found on the table. The pig of lead found in the Roodeye excavations has, according to my theory, formed part of this traffic, and has been lost overboard in process of landing. This will be the more apparent if we remember that the itinerary road branched off from Eccleston, to some point between Dodleston and Hope, and there divided into three roads, one going past Minera for the Bala district, another the itinerary road past Mold for Varis, the other through Northop, for Flint (Sandonium). The boundaries of the river Dee were more extensive then than at present, hence to have used the itinerary road would have involved a hilly





PIG OF LEAD, FOUND AT THE ROODEYE, 1885.



PIG OF LEAD, FOUND NEAR TARVIN BRIDGE, 1838.



PIG OF LEAD, FOUND IN COMMONHALL STREET, 1849.

PIGS OF LEAD,
FOUND IN OR NEAR CHESTER.

journey of many miles, and a river to ford at the end, while by river a vessel, setting out from Flint on the flood tide, would reach Chester with little effort the same tide. The distance between the two places is not more than twelve miles. Water carriage is notoriously a safe means of transit; the fine condition of the pig of lead is best accounted for, by supposing it to have been brought by water. The traffic in lead from Flint was not limited to Chester, since Camden tells us, that in his day "20 sows of lead" were found at Halton on the banks of the Mersey.¹ As they all bear the stamp of being the tribute of the Cangi, and as Sandonium was, so far as we know, the only smelting-place for lead hereabouts utilised by the Romans, we may infer with considerable probability that they were produced at Sandonium. Other evidence might be adduced to show the extent of this local traffic, and that from Deva it was transported to the continent, but I forbear, as foreign to my present purpose. In the extent of ground covered by these ancient smelting works at Flint, we have ample proof of the former production of lead on an extensive scale, leading to an important traffic with surrounding Roman stations, but mainly with Deva. The inscription on the upper face of the pig of lead found on the Roodeye, is:—

IMP. VESP. AVG. V. T. IMP. III. C.

The expansion is: Imperatore Vespasiano Augusto V. Tito Imperatore iii. Consulibus. On the side are the letters: DE CEANGI, or expanded: De Ceangis, showing that the lead came from the territories of the Ceangi, who then inhabited the present counties of Flint, Denbigh, and Carnarvon. It is in remarkable preservation, and only here and there coated with oxide. The letters are bold in type,

¹ Camden's *Britannia*, 3rd ed., p. 488, and Thompson Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, p. 294.

and nearly one inch and a half high, with leafy stops between the words. The lettered surface is twenty inches long by three inches wide, and the base twenty-four inches long by five inches and a half wide. It is four and three-quarters of an inch in depth, and weighs one hundred and ninety-two pounds. Other tributary pigs of lead from the Ceangi have been found. In 1838, in cutting the Crewe and Chester railway, a similar pig of lead was found near the railway bridge on the Tarvin Road, on the edge of the Roman Street to Mancunium (Manchester). It is stamped—

IMP. VESP. V. T. IMP. III. COS.
DE CEANGI.

and is now preserved at Eaton.¹ Although it bears the stamp of being the tribute of the Ceangi, and cast in the same year, it is not from the same mould as the Roodeye ingot, which has AVG(usto) after Vespasian, and C only instead of COS at the end. Another pig of lead of the same DE CEANGI type was found on the line of the Roman street across Hints Common, in Staffordshire. And again, we have the twenty pieces mentioned by Camden as occurring on the shore near Runcorn. These facts show the dispersion of lead, along four distinct lines of trade routes from the smelting station at Sandonium, supplying valuable evidence to the extent of the traffic in this one article of lead.

With the pig of lead were found four second brass Roman coins, three of Vespasian and one of Titus. As coins, they are intimately associated with the subject of traffic, as well as corroborative of its age, and are therefore described.

¹ *Watkin's Roman Cheshire*, pp. 162-3.

IMP. CAESAR. VESPASIAN. AVG. COS. II.

Rev. FORTVNAE REDVCI. In field s.c. Fortune standing to left with cornucopiæ and rudder.

IMP. CAESAR. VESPASIAN. AVG. COS. VIII.

Rev. FIDES PVBLICA. In field s.c. Female standing to left with cornucopiæ in left hand, patera (?) in right.

IMP. CAESAR. VESPASIAN. AVG. COS. . . .

Rev. PAX AVG. In field s.c. Female standing to left, with patera in right hand over altar, olive branch, and caduceus in left.

Obv. T. CAES. IMP. AVG. F. TR. P. COS. VI. CENSOR. Laureated head of Titus to left.

Rev. In field s.c. Hope walking to left, holding in her right hand a flower, and with her left holding up her gown.

Coming now to the question of date brought out by these inscriptions, the fifth consulate of Vespasian, and third of Titus on the pig of lead, corresponds to A.D. 74, while the ninth consulate of Vespasian is five years later, or A.D. 79, a period we know of much activity on the part of the Romans, in which they were engaged in the construction of their fortified stations, and connecting streets, and in many ways consolidating their power in Britain.

From lead we proceed to deal with coal as an article of commerce in these early times. In my visits to the excavations at the gas works, I noticed the occurrence of coal in the gravel, and I further noticed that the edges of the fragments were rounded, showing that they had been exposed to the rolling action of the tide. An examination of these showed that it was chiefly the more valuable variety known as cannel, and more, that it was of good quality, as will be seen in the following analysis:—

Ash	- - - - -	3·63
Sulphur	- - - - -	.89
Moisture	- - - - -	2·00
Volatile hydrocarbons	- - - -	42·71
Fixed carbons	- - - - -	50·77
		<hr/>
		100·00
		<hr/>

Ordinary coal was also present, but cannel largely predominated. These fragments of coal found in association with the pig of lead, I can only regard as evidence of a traffic in that mineral. The quantity found was not inconsiderable. From first to last, the amount found was little less than a ton. The discovery of coal under these circumstances is in harmony with our best information on the question, for whatever may have been thought at one time to the contrary, there is now no reason to doubt the use of coal by the Romans when available. Stores of it have been found in Roman stations along the great wall. In the case of the heap of it at Uriconium, there was no difficulty in assigning it to the Coalbrookdale coalfield. In like manner, the pieces we have found may be regarded as having been derived from certain beds of coal occurring in the immediate neighbourhood of Flint.¹ The Romans, it is well known, did not employ the system of mining by pits or shafts sunk perpendicularly in the earth, but followed the vein or band of coal into the hill side by an open working. The coalfield extends along the shore from Queen's Ferry to Mostyn, a distance of fifteen miles. At Queen's Ferry a seam of coal comes to the surface. Cannel also occurs at the surface in many places, particularly in the Leeswood district, offering precisely the conditions suitable

¹ On this subject a letter from Mr. Henry Taylor, the general honorary secretary of the Society, will be found on page 106.

for getting the coal with the appliances available in early times.

In seeking to account for the occurrence of this coal in these gravels, we must recognise the fact that it also occurs in drift gravels of prehistoric age. Here, on the Roodeye, we find it abundantly in material of comparatively recent date, certainly historic times. It could not have been brought down the river, since there are no coalfields to furnish it. Our nearest supply of coal comes from Queen's Ferry. The circumstance of finding this coal freely distributed among the river gravels, associated with articles of Roman fabrication, admits of only one solution, namely, that, following on a line from the gas works to the Water-gate, the Romans constructed a landing-place for goods brought by water from the North Wales coast, and that the coal and lead we now find were lost overboard, in process of landing from the boats employed for the purpose. It only remains to be mentioned that cannel-coal was a neglected commodity in this country, until fifty years ago. Up to that time its value as a heating and lighting agent was not appreciated. Our discoveries, then, go to show that the valuable properties of cannel-coal were utilised by the Romans during their occupation of Deva. After this time, with all our boasted discoveries and modern appliances, a long period elapsed before it again came into use.

The next item to be noticed is limestone. Fragments of limestone were found among the gravels, but were not so abundant as the coal. Limestone would be utilised then as now for conversion into lime for mortar. While everywhere along the Welsh coast the limestone fringes the coal measures, and would therefore be readily accessible, yet I do not think that the main supply of lime for the building of Deva came from that locality. The Roman station of Caergwrle not only secured the road to Carnarvon, but

was the nearest point at which lime in an inexhaustible quantity could be obtained. Rough blocks of limestone have been found at various times in the city, showing the importation of limestone. I know of no evidence in either direction to determine the question, whether the lime was burnt at the quarry or here.

Copper. Although our subject is exhausted with the mention of coal, lead, and limestone, as articles of traffic, yet copper is deserving of a passing notice. The finding of the cake of copper at Caerhun, taken in connection with the fact that it is about the only mineral found in the Snowdon district, and that in Anglesea there have been vast deposits of copper, so placed as to be got by open quarrying, lead to the conclusion that the metal in question was the produce of the Anglesea mines. But as the production was on a more limited scale, it was doubtless conveyed at least part of the way by the land route to Deva. Other cakes of copper have been found in Anglesea, so that after all there may have been a considerable production of the metal around Snowdonia, of which Anglesea has contributed the greater part. As it was most likely sent to Deva by the land route, it is not our purpose to further discuss the question.

We have now gone over the evidence we possess of the nature and extent of the traffic in Roman times between Chester and the coasts of North Wales. Future discoveries will enable us to amplify the items and enlarge its area. For the present we desire to record the advance in our information as to the purpose served by the Roodeye, since it was regarded as a spot on which Roman soldiers exercised and held their sports, a combination of drill ground and amphitheatre.¹ Looking at the extent of the ground

¹ *Chester Archaeological Society's Journal*, vol. i., page 19.

familiarly known as the Roodeye, all recovered from the river since Roman times, in the light of recent discoveries, and remembering that although at three points only has the nature of its infilling deposits been disclosed by excavations, yet in every instance in which it has been done, valuable data have been furnished as to its past physical condition during historic times. The conviction arises that the Roodeye, with its fifteen or twenty-five feet of recent deposits, contains much that will doubtless occupy the investigations of future archæologists. Already its revelations have filled up a blank page in our local history at the period of the Roman occupation of Britain. Contemporary history is silent as to Deva, hence these records are the more precious. These discoveries have enabled us with the mind's eye to see the Roodeye as it then was, covered from bank to bank with deep water and its shores lined with gravel and shingle, as along the Dee estuary now. On the higher ground above, in a line with the river bank, ran the western wall of the castrum, while not far from the present Watergate, on the rising ground, was the Porta Flumentana, the termination of the principal street through Deva, running east and west. On the right of the Watergate, and over a site now crowded with houses, was a bank of high ground extending as far as Wilcox's Point, between the railway bridge and the gas works. On the southern front of this bank existed a structure built of oaken piles, forming a series of landing stages, and, from the difference in levels, available at varying conditions of the tide; while alongside we can imagine boats busily engaged in discharging their cargoes of lead, copper, coal, lime, clay, or even the well-known terra cotta tiles of various sizes. Further away, in deeper water, floated the Roman fleet, which so effectually co-operated with Agricola in his expedition from Deva northwards. Hereabouts also,

if anywhere, were built the flat bottomed boats, with which, as Tacitus tells us, Seutonius Paulinus used to invade Anglesea.¹ Not unlikely some portions of these are still entombed in the muddy ooze of the Roodeye.

The objects and scenes we have been endeavouring to depict were, we know from the date of the Roman coins and the pig of lead, in existence in the first half century of the Roman occupation.

Other articles of commerce there doubtless were, of which our information is at present too limited to need notice. In conclusion, it is my pleasant duty to thank the directors of the Gas Company, for so generously placing the various objects found at the service of this Society, and to Mr. Stevenson, for the facilities afforded towards ascertaining the circumstances under which they were found.

¹ *Annals*, book xiv., ch. xxix.





DESCRIPTION OF A HOARD OF FORTY-THREE ROMAN DENARII OF THE IMPERIAL SERIES FOUND AT ECCLESTON, NEAR CHESTER, AND BELONGING TO THE LATE MR. W. F. AYRTON.¹

BY W. T. READY.

THIS hoard consists of coins of the following emperors and empresses :—

Vespasian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I
Domitian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Nerva	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I
Trajan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
Hadrian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Sabina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I
Antoninus Pius	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Faustina Senior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Marcus Aurelius	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Faustina Junior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

The earlier coins show, as might be expected, the most signs of wear ; the earliest, that of Vespasian, being so

¹ These coins were found in a hoard, but whether in a vase or not there is no information, at the beginning of this century, in or near Eccleston, not far from Chester. They were acquired by the late Mr. George Cuitt, the well-known Chester artist, and remained in his possession till his death, which occurred in Yorkshire. His kinsman, the late Mr. W. F. Ayrton, the first honorary secretary of this Society, made a special journey to Yorkshire to secure them as having been found near Chester, and they are now in the possession of his widow, Mrs. Ayrton, Abbots Rock, Chester.

much worn as to be illegible. The later coins are remarkably well preserved, some bearing no traces of circulation whatever and retaining the bloom of the die. From these conditions of preservation it may be safely assumed that the coins were placed in the position where they were found very soon after the later pieces were issued from the mint; and, as the most recent can be assigned with certainty to the year A.D. 168, it must have been very shortly after that date that they were lost or hidden.

LIST OF FORTY-THREE ROMAN IMPERIAL DENARII.

The arrangement is in chronological sequence and order of tribunitial office.
The references are to Cohen's *Medailles Imperiales*, 2^{me} edit.

1. Vespasian. *Obv.* IMP. VESPASIAN [. . .], laureate head to right. *Rev.* female figure seated to left.
2. Domitian. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. XIII., laureate head of the emperor to right. *Rev.* IMP. XXII. COS. XVI. CENS. P. P. P., Minerva standing to left holding a long spear. (*Cohen*, 282.)
3. Domitian. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. XVI. (Imperator Caesar. Domitianus. Augustus. Germanicus. Pontifex Maximus. Tribunitia Potestate. Decimum sextum.), laureate head of the emperor to right. *Rev.* IMP. XXII. COS. XVIJ. CENS. P. P. P. (Imperator xvij. Consul xxij. Censor perpetuus. Pater Patriae); Pallas pugnans to right, at her feet an owl. (*Cohen*, 288.)
4. Nerva. *Obv.* IMP. NERVA. CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. P. P., laureate head to right. *Rev.* CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM; two clasped hands, symbolical of the concord of the emperor and the army. (*Cohen*, 20.)

¹ This denarius is much worn. The reverse legend is illegible.

5. Trajan. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. NERVA. TRAIAN. AVG. GERM., laureate head to right. *Rev.* P. M. TR. P. COS. II. P. P., Fortuna (?) standing to left. (*Cohen*, 211.)
6. Trajan. *Obv.* (as preceding). *Rev.* P. M. TR. P. COS. IIII. P. P., Hercules facing, holding club and lion's skin. (*Cohen*, 234.)
7. Trajan. *Obv.* (as No. 5). *Rev.* P. M. TR. P. COS. IIII. P. P. Victory to right, standing on prow of vessel terminating with a snake, and holding palm branch and wreath. (*Cohen*, 241.)
8. Trajan. *Obv.* (as No. 5). *Rev.* P. M. TR. P. COS. IIII. P. P., Victory to left, holding palm branch and leaf. (*Cohen*, 242.)
9. Trajan. *Obv.* IMP. TRAIANO. AVG. GER. DAC.(icus) P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P., laureate draped head to right. *Rev.* S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populusque Romanus. Optimo Principi), captive Dacian seated at foot of trophy. (*Cohen*, 537.)
10. Trajan. *Obv.* (as preceding, but shoulders not draped). *Rev.* legend as No. 9 . . . female figure, symbolical of felicity or peace, to left, holding caduceus and cornucopia (*Cohen*, 403.)
11. Trajan. *Obv.* IMP. TRAIANO. AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P., laureate head to right. *Rev.* COS. V. P. P. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINC., Arabia, represented by a female figure standing to left, holding reed and laurel branch, at her feet a diminutive figure of a camel. (*Cohen*, 89.)
12. Trajan. *Obv.* (as No. 11). *Rev.* Legend as No. 11, Mars Victor, to left, holding spear and figure of Victory. (*Cohen*, 63.)
13. Trajan. *Obv.* (as No. 11). *Rev.* (legend as No. 11), female figure, Equity, standing to left, holding cornucopia and balance. (*Cohen*, 85.)

14. Trajan. *Obv.* IMP. NER. TRAIANO. OPTIMO. AVG. GER. DAC., laureate draped head of the emperor to right. *Rev.* P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. S. P. Q. R., youthful male figure, Vertumnus (?), holding patera and two ears of corn. (Cohen, 276.)

15. Trajan. *Obv.* (as preceding). *Rev.* (legend as preceding), youthful male figure, Valour, holding spear and parazonium; his left foot resting upon a helmet. (Cohen, 274.)

16. Trajan. *Obv.* (as No. 14). *Rev.* (legend as No. 14) female figure, Felicity, to left, holding cornucopia and caduceus. (Cohen, 278.)

17. Trajan. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIAN. OPTIM. AVG. GER. DAC. PARTHICO., laureate draped head to right. *Rev.* (legend as No. 14) across the field PROVID(entia), female figure, Providence, holding long sceptre; at her feet a globe. (Cohen, 315.)

18. Trajan. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIAN. OPTIM. AVG. GERM. DAC., laureate draped head to right. *Rev.* PARTHICO. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. S. P. Q. R., across the field PROV р. (entia), device as of preceding piece. (Cohen, 314.)

19. Trajan. *Obv.* IMP. TRAIANO. AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P., laureate head to right. *Rev.* S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI., Mars Victor, to right, carrying trophy and small figure of Victory. (Cohen, 372.)

20. Hadrian. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. TRAIAN. HADRIANO. AVG. DIVI. TRA., laureate head to right. *Rev.* PARTH. F. DIVI. NER. NEP. P. M. TR. P. COS.; in exergue, IVSTITIA; Justice seated to left, holding sceptre and patera. (Cohen, 874.)

21. Hadrian. *Obv.* IMP. CAESAR. TRAIAN. HADRIANVS. AVG., laureate head to right. *Rev.* P. M. TR. P. COS. III., Mars Victor walking to right. (Cohen, 1,072.)

22. Hadrian. *Obv.* and *Rev.* (as preceding).

23. Hadrian. *Obv.* (as No. 21). *Rev.* (legend as preceding)
Roma seated to left, holding spear and figure of
Victory. (*Cohen*, 1,102.)

24. Hadrian. *Obv.* HADRIANVS. AVG. COS. III., laureate
head to right. *Rev.* VICTORIA. AVG., Nemesis walking
to right, pulling her robe from the neck, and
carrying laurel branch. (*Cohen*, 1,455.)

25. Hadrian. *Obv.* as preceding, but head bare, and
shoulders draped. *Rev.* AFRICA., the province of
Africa, seated to left, holding cornucopia and scor-
pion; at her feet a basket of fruits. (*Cohen*, 141.)

26. Sabina. *Obv.* SABINA. AVGSTA., draped bust of the
empress to right. *Rev.* CONCORDIA. AVG., the god-
dess of Concord seated to left, holding sceptre and
patera. (*Cohen*, 24.)

27. Antoninus Pius. *Obv.* IMP. T. AEL. CAES. HADR.
ANTONINVS., bare head to right. *Rev.* AVG. PIVS.
P. M. TR. P. COS. DES. II., Roma standing to left,
holding a figure of Victory, her left hand resting on
a shield. (*Cohen*, 67.)

28. Antoninus Pius. *Obv.* ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. P. P.
TR. P. XI., laureate head to right. *Rev.* COS. III. (?),
Tranquilitas (?) standing to left, holding rudder (?)
and corn ears, at her feet the modius. (*Cohen* . . .)

29. Antoninus Pius. *Obv.* as preceding. *Rev.* COS. IIII.,
Abundantia standing to left, holding corn ears and
anchor, at her feet the modius. (*Cohen*, 283.)

30. Antoninus Pius. *Obv.* ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. P. P.,
laureate head to right. *Rev.* TR. POT. COS. IIII. in
exergue LIB. IIII. (Liberalitas iiiii.), Liberalitas stand-
ing to left, holding tessera and cornucopia.
(*Cohen*, 490.)

31. Antoninus Pius. *Obv.* IMP. CAES. T. AEL. H. ANTO-

NINVS. AVG. PIVS. P. P., laureate head to right. *Rev.* TR. POT. XV. COS. IIII. in exergue PIETAS, Piety standing to right, holding patera with offerings, and a goat; at her feet an altar.

32. Antoninus Pius. *Obv.* DIVVS. ANTONINVS, bare head to right. *Rev.* DIVO. PIO, an altar.

33. Antoninus Pius. *Obv.* (as preceding). *Rev.* CONSECRATIO, eagle about to rise from an altar. [This and the preceding coin, No. 32, was struck after the death of the emperor.]

34. Faustina Senior. *Obv.* DIVA. FAVSTINA, draped bust to right, the hair elaborately dressed. *Rev.* AVGVSTA, the empress as Ceres holding torch and two ears of corn. (Cohen, 84.)

35. Faustina Senior. (As preceding coin, but from different die.)

36. Faustina Senior. *Obv.* (as No. 34). *Rev.* AETERNITAS, the empress, as Æternitas (or Juno), lifting her right hand and holding long sceptre. (Cohen, 26.)

37. Marcus Aurelius. *Obv.* AVRELIVS. CAES. AVG. PII. F., head to right. *Rev.* TR. POT. XIIIJ. COS. II., Minerva pugnans to right. (Cohen, . . .)

38. Marcus Aurelius. *Obv.* IMP. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS. AVG., head to right. *Rev.* CONCORD. AVG. TR. P. XVI. COS. IIJ., Concordia seated to left, holding a patera; by the seat a cornucopia. (Cohen, 35.)

39. Marcus Aurelius. *Obv.* and *Rev.*, types as preceding, but different die.

40. Marcus Aurelius. *Obv.* IMP. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS. AVG., head to right. *Rev.* PROV. DEOR. TR. P. XVI. COS. III. (Providentia deorum; Tribunitia potestate xvi., Consul iiij.), Providentia to left, holding orb and cornucopia. (Cohen, 519.)

41. Marcus Aurelius. *Obv.* M. ANTONINVS. AVG. ARM.

PARTH. MAX (Marcus Antoninus Augustus, Armeniacus, Parthicus, Maximus), laureate head to right.

Rev. TR. P. XXII. IMP. IIIJ. COS. IIJ., Equitas standing to left, holding cornucopia and balance. (*Cohen*, 892.)

42. Faustina Junior. *Obv.* FAVSTINA AVG. PII. AVG. FIL. (Faustina Augusta pii Augusti filia), bust of the empress to right. *Rev.* CONCORDIA, Concord seated to left, holding flower, by the seat a cornucopia. (*Cohen*, 53.)

43. Faustina Junior. *Obv.* FAVSTINA. AVGSTA, bust of the empress to right. *Rev.* FECVNDITAS, Fecunditas standing to right, holding a sceptre and an infant. (*Cohen*, 99.)

From an examination of the above list it will be seen that only a few of the coins have types commemorative of historical events. The most interesting in this respect are the denarii of Trajan,—Nos. 9 and 11. The former records the successful termination of this emperor's expedition against Decebalus, king of the Dacians, in A.D. 103; and the latter the conquest of Arabia in A.D. 105.

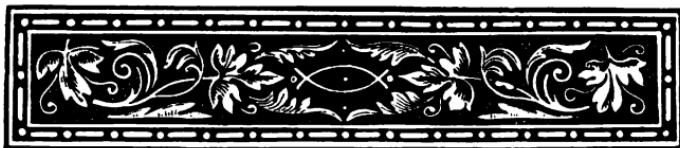
The denarius numbered 25 refers to the journey of Hadrian to Africa; and that numbered 30, which was struck A.D. 145, commemorates the fourth public distribution of largesses by Antoninus Pius.





FRAGMENT OF THE TOMBSTONE OF MARCUS APRONIUS, THE FIRST
MONUMENTAL STONE FOUND IN THE NORTH WALL IN APRIL,
1883. (See Mr. G. W. Shrubsole's paper on the City Walls, in the
Appendix, p. 178.)

This block is kindly lent by the Executors of the late Mr. W. Thompson
Watkin (see his *Roman Cheshire*, p. 211).



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SESSION 1886-7.

Wednesday, October 20th, 1886.

THE first meeting of the session 1886-7 was held in the lecture theatre of the New Grosvenor Museum, on Wednesday, October 20th, 1886. The Bishop of Chester presided, and amongst those present were the Very Rev. Dean Darby, the Ven. Archdeacon Barber, Mrs. Stubbs, His Honour Judge Horatio Lloyd, Dr. Stolterfoth, Dr. Davies Colley, Colonel Scotland, Alderman Charles Brown, Rev. Canon Owen (the Bishop's Chaplain), Rev. H. Grantham, Mr. J. Gamon, Mr. W. Shone, Mr. R. Farmer, Mr. S. Golder, Mr. A. Lamont, Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, Mr. T. Cann Hughes, Mr. J. Griffiths, &c., &c.

The Bishop, in opening the proceedings, said:—"Ladies and gentlemen, As this is the first occasion upon which this very pleasant room has been used for the purpose of the Archæological Society's meeting, it is laid upon me as President of the Society to say a few words by way of an opening address. If I had had time or had not been occupied with other business, it would have given me great pleasure to have prepared something which might bear the dignified title of an inaugural address—something which might have formed a good omen for days to come for the use of this room in instructing and entertaining students in

archæology. This I have not been able to do; but I cannot allow the occasion to pass without attempting to say a few words. We have most of us vividly in our memory, I hope, the extremely pleasant occasion of the visit of the Archæological Institute last August. Many of us I imagine heard the addresses of the distinguished visitors. And by far the least likely to be forgotten was the most interesting address given by our munificent patron the Duke of Westminster—an address I am bound to say which not only surprised me by the extent of the reading and the careful elaboration of the details with which it was filled, but also by the literary power and force with which the whole was marshalled. I think we are extremely fortunate in being able to connect the name of this institution with the Duke of Westminster, whose words on that occasion showed a large knowledge of the subject and a sincere appreciation of the objects of the Society which was then holding its meeting. At this meeting of the Archæological Institute we had not only the speech of the Duke, but we had also a very remarkable address from my old friend Mr. Freeman. Then I also made a speech, which took some hold upon public attention, judging from the newspapers. Then we had Mr. Beresford Hope. I believe that the Council of the Archæological Institute were very much pleased with their visit to Chester."

The Bishop then proceeded to speak about "archæology," which he described as hardly as yet raised to the rank of an exact science, but which was now making great strides towards that most desirable end. It was the sister of history, and, although it was not in itself history, it contributed that element of antiquarian research which is one of the most charming and taking sides of historical study, and which always attracts the largest number of students.

He then proceeded:—"Antiquarian research in matters of genealogy is of a most inexhaustible character, and many magazines are published in England and America

on this subject. In America especially the study of genealogy is followed up with a greater expenditure of money and literary power than in any other part of the world. Then, besides genealogy, there is the study of local history, for which men of every rank and station in life had a taste, and towards which they could contribute real and serious help. On Cheshire and North Wales we have a large number of very good books. Some of those books are so good and so thorough that until one has mastered them it does seem presumptuous to talk about the history and antiquities of Cheshire and North Wales. Until you have mastered *Ormerod*, for instance, you cannot be sure that any new fact you have just hit upon has not been known for the last sixty years. We have *Ormerod*, and King's *Vale Royal* and Leycester's *Antiquities* amongst the books of the old school of antiquaries, and recently we have had Mr. Thompson Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, Mr. Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, Mr. Hall's *History of Nantwich*, and Mr. Henry Taylor's *Historic Notices of Flint*, which I have read with the greatest pleasure—a book which seems to me quite a model of what a local history ought to be. It is full of old information and new information, and all arranged in that intelligent way and with that full appreciation of the bearing of local history upon general history, which ought to be observed in all archæological records, and which is one of the most interesting and valuable features of such a work."

After referring in general terms to what is known as prehistoric archæology, and the cave-dwellers and lake-dwellers, his lordship spoke of early British remains and of the great importance of the Roman period, as far as Chester was concerned, and then passed on to the Saxon and later periods, about which he made the following remarks:—"The fourth period then is the Anglo-Saxon period, and for that period I think we in Cheshire may have materials which have not been adequately worked. I am only now speaking quite tentatively; I am not quite sure about it, and I think it is quite possible that a good deal of the ground I should like

to go over myself may have been gone over already by Ormerod and other writers; but Cheshire being at the northern part of the kingdom of Mercia did escape to a great extent the ravages of the Danes. It was well ravaged by the Anglo-Saxons in their battles with the ancient British, and it was also the scene of great events in the Roman times; but during the Danish invasions I am inclined to believe it did not suffer very much. It lay to the west of the great line which in the time of Alfred separated the Anglo-Saxon dominions from the Danish encroachments. Consequently we may look in Cheshire for the continuity of a great many Anglo-Saxon names of places, and we may to some extent possibly find traces of Anglo-Saxon institutions. Now Runcorn, besides Chester, which is pre-eminent in this matter, is a site of very ancient Anglo-Saxon civilisation. Eddisbury is another and Thelwall is another. I don't know that if you went to Runcorn and dug the ground all over that you would find Anglo-Saxon coins or anything else important, but I do know that historically it is important from the ninth century, and the same may be said of Thelwall and the forest of Wirral. Cholmondeley indicates the ley of Ceolmund—an Anglo-Saxon name given to both kings and bishops. And we not only have Ceolmund's ley, but also Cholmondestone. In Wybunbury you have the burgh or dwelling of Wybba, the father of Penda, the great king of Mercia, who witnessed the introduction of Christianity into his kingdom. In Plemondstall you have the stall or habitation of Plemund, who has been identified with an archbishop of Canterbury in the time of King Alfred. Then you know there is Bromborough in Wirral. Mr. Dyer Green, and a great many people in that part of Wirral, claim Bromborough as the scene of a great battle, which was fought between the Scots and the Danes—the great battle of Brunanburgh. I should like to give a hundred pound prize to any one who would determine where that battle was fought. There may be fifty Bromboroughs, and it is forty-nine to one it was fought

somewhere else. This will be an interesting question for any one to take up. We now get on to the Norman and Mediæval period. Of course, as you come lower down in the scale of these divisions, you find that the material which is available expands very largely. To this period nearly all the architectural archæology of Cheshire belongs. For the Anglo-Saxon period, I do not remember at this moment ever seeing a charter connected with Cheshire. I do not think Cheshire contributes any large quantity to our collection of early Norman and Anglo-Saxon charters. I have seen at Peover the earliest charter of the Mainwaring family, which has been quite recently re-discovered, so to speak. It is a most beautiful specimen of its kind."

"Then there is the great subject of genealogy, about which everybody should know something, more or less. There is scarcely a settled family in Cheshire that cannot trace itself back three or four centuries, and any man in Cheshire, who can say that his father held his farm at the beginning of this century, may very probably be able to trace his genealogy as far back as the Reformation. That is a very important matter and interesting to those who have family connections in Cheshire."

"The architectural interests of archæology in Cheshire are in good hands. The parish churches, such as those of Astbury and Nantwich, and, in fact, all the fine old parish churches of the county, are being or have been restored with very careful regard to their ancient features."

After a humorous description of the old "church ales," which took the place of the modern "bazaars" as a means of raising funds for church purposes in mediæval times, the Bishop referred to the old church rates and poor rates, and the way they were formerly collected. He said:— "The way in which that was done may often be found by a reference to the old churchwardens' accounts of the parish, and that is the kind of information I want you to collect from churchwardens' books, before they are destroyed.

These plans of raising money show a distinct series of steps, which it is very desirable should be put on record before they are entirely forgotten. I was recently at Great Budworth; it was an extremely wet day, and the vicar kindly gave me the churchwardens' books to read. They proved most interesting, and in other parts of Cheshire you would get the same thing. There you get the accounts of the churchwardens, showing the money they raised for church expenses, for land rates, for the maintenance of the poor and of illegitimate children, who were supported and clothed out of the rates, and who seem to be the principal paupers of the district, for there was not much pauperism in this part of Cheshire until of late years. Great Budworth was a parish which contained I think twelve townships, and each of those townships returned to the parish meeting two representatives, who were called township men. I think all the townships in Great Budworth, except one, returned two township men. These township men met in an assembly which exactly resembled in its constitution our imperial parliament. It is described collectively as an 'assembly of the gentlemen landowners, township men, churchwardens, and overseers.' Thus you get different estates as in Parliament: the vicar representing the first estate, the gentlemen representing the House of Lords, and the township men the elected members in the House of Commons. In the churchwardens and overseers you get the most honourable the Privy Council, and the great ministers of the Cabinet. There you have distinctly a survival of the system out of which grew the great constitutional system of England which is the model system of the world. Then when they found out how much money they wanted they proposed to make what they called 'a mise.' It was not rating according to each holding, but a certain sum or amount which represented the payment of the collective parish. We will say that the sum to be raised in that particular parish was £11. 16s. 1d. That was the particular sum which was supposed to be ordinarily raisable in that parish.

Then that was divided amongst the townships—I don't remember the exact number, but we will suppose it is twelve—and each of them was called upon for its proportion, which was allotted in turn or in proportion to particular payers. Exactly in the same way when the king wanted a subsidy it was said this county must pay £250, that other county £350, and so on. That was the principle under which from the reign of Edward III. to the accession of Queen Mary money was raised in England. If the wardens wanted more money they raised two or three, or as many as five 'mises.' Then when the mise system became unsatisfactory, which it did before the poor-law system made its appearance, they then fell back upon a system which they called 'a lay,' which is a word common to both Yorkshire and Cheshire. I never saw the word 'mise' elsewhere than in Cheshire and in Lancashire. A 'lay' was levied exactly as we levy rates. In another generation probably the word 'mise' will scarcely be found in a dictionary. I am not sure you would find it now. Then, besides mises and taxes, there are the records of city guilds and other institutions which will very soon not only be things of the past, but it will be forgotten that they even existed. I do not doubt that there are in Chester many books of records of city guilds, &c., which are valuable as containing lists of names, &c., which will be lost if they are not looked after, and carefully preserved.

"Archæology will thus be found by many of us, if treated in the way I would like to see it treated, a healthy amusement, and a training of one side of the mind, which in this utilitarian age is a little apt to be dwarfed. It will give us a lively and hopeful interest in the study of the history of our country and of the institutions, which have made our country what it is. We must work thoroughly well together, trying not to be dogmatic, not to tread upon one another's toes; not to lay down hard and fast rules which cannot be defended. At all events we shall stimulate the minds of the rising generation, and create a love in them of the things we

love ourselves in studying our local history. It will stimulate a love of that patriotic life which I am sure the people of Chester, and I believe the people of the county also feel. That is the feeling of pride in one's county and country which is felt by an Englishman as an Englishman, which I felt first as a Yorkshireman in Yorkshire, and which I feel to-day as being a Cheshireman in Cheshire."

Mr. G. W. Shrubsole then read a paper upon the traffic carried on upon the River Dee with the port of Chester in connection with the recent discovery of Roman remains in the excavation for a new gasometer at the Chester gas works on the Roodee. This paper will be found on pp. 76-90.

Mr. T. Cann Hughes (the Assistant Secretary) read the following letter from the General Secretary :—

"Chester, 19th October, 1886.

"Dear Mr. Hughes,—I very much regret that my official duties at Flint, at the last moment, prevent my attending to-morrow evening the first monthly meeting of our Society, as I had hoped to have done. Will you kindly explain the reason of my absence to his Lordship, the President, and to the other members present. I promised Mr. Shrubsole to make some enquiries as to the cannel-coal fields of Flintshire and to give the result of those enquiries to the meeting should his paper be reached. Will you kindly do so for me? In the first place, I must confess that the fact of this cannel being found near to the gas works, where so much of that mineral has been brought for the manufacture of *gas* [for lighting], makes me somewhat sceptical as to its being imported by the Romans, unless Mr. Shrubsole saw it, *in situ*, near to the pig of lead, &c. The piece he showed to me certainly looked water worn and was covered with sand and shells, which would lead one to suppose that it had been in its resting-place for a long time. Moreover, as I will try to show, it is quite possible that the Romans knew of this mineral and may have brought it to Chester; nevertheless, *there are those gas works*. Cannel-coal (to use a mining

phrase) "crops out" to the surface in several parts of Flintshire. It is found at Leeswood, and has been worked from the surface in what miners call a "Day-level." Leeswood is close by Caergwrle, where of course the Romans had a station. The cannel at Leeswood is known as the curley-cannel; and is highly bituminous and so full of oil that during the late American War upwards of a million of money was expended in sinking pits and erecting works in the neighbourhood of Leeswood for the purpose of extracting oil from this cannel. The pits and works ended (when the war was over and petroleum came from America) in extracting money from the pockets of the shareholders. The cannel, however, which Mr. Shrubsole showed to me is not curley-cannel. Again, we find the coal-seams which lie under the River Dee "crop out" to the surface on the Flintshire side, but on the Cheshire side they are "thrown out" by the red sandstone. In Mostyn Park, and again in the high land above Flint, cannel-coal comes to the surface. It has been worked at Mostyn, and is now being worked at the Flint Coal and Cannel Company's pit at Coleshill. I showed the piece of cannel Mr. Shrubsole gave to me both to Mr. Joshua Lancaster, the manager of the Mostyn Colliery, and to Mr. Dawes, the manager of the Flint Colliery, and they both say that it is precisely the same kind of cannel as theirs is. Now at Pentre, on the Chester side of Flint, was the Roman settlement of Croes Ati, to which Pennant so fully refers in his *Tours in Wales*, where the Romans had large hearths for smelting the lead brought down from Halkyn Mountain. At Pentre we are constantly picking up "Roman remains." Only the other day our borough surveyor brought me a first brass coin of the Emperor Commodus which he had found when reconstructing the road between the town and Pentre. I strongly suspect that both the pig of lead and the cannel, always supposing the latter was not brought for the manufacture of modern "gas," came from Pentre or Pentre-furn-dan as its proper name is—which being translated is

"the vill of the fiery furnace." I understand the word Ceangi is said to be marked on the pig of lead. Pentre is within the district occupied by the Ceangi. It is also situate on the side of the river and affords easy transit for minerals by water. The celebrated Pentre Rock, if one is to believe all that has been said of it before Committees of the Houses of Parliament, is answerable for all sorts of calamities to the River Dee. They say Chester would have been the largest shipping port in the world only for this wretched Pentre Rock.—Yours faithfully,

"HENRY TAYLOR.

"T. Cann Hughes, Esq., B.A."

His Honour Judge Horatio Lloyd moved a vote of thanks to his lordship for the interesting address he had given them, which was not only valuable for the amount of information it contained and would be remembered by them all for a long time to come, but was also graced with that agreeable humour, for which his lordship was so distinguished. He must also include in this vote of thanks Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, a veteran member of the Society, who had opened for them another field of investigation, which it would be interesting for many of them to follow.

Dr. Stolterfoth seconded the motion, and said he was sorry that want of time had prevented their doing justice to Mr. Shrubsole's paper by discussing it, but he hoped the Society would have another turn at the Roman traffic on the River Dee.¹

Monday, November 8th, 1886.

The second monthly meeting of the session was held in the lecture theatre at the Grosvenor Museum, Dr. Henry Stolterfoth, M.A., in the chair.

Mr. John Hewitt read a paper, entitled "Notes on the Crypts and Rows of Chester," which will be found printed

¹ This adjourned discussion took place on the 10th January, 1887 (see p. 111).

at pages 30-52. The lecturer exhibited a number of drawings illustrating the subject of his paper.

Mr. Henry Taylor, the honorary general secretary, pointed out that what Mr. Hewitt had stated in regard to the origin of the Rows agreed pretty much with what had been advanced by Pennant and Lysons, as well as by Dr. Brushfield, His Honour Judge Foulkes, and other old members of the Society; and that antiquaries in the city were much in the position of Mr. Micawber in relation to the question, and must wait for "something to turn up" before anything positive could be known.

Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, F.G.S., Mr. E. W. Cox (Old Hall, Flookersbrook), Alderman Charles Brown, and Mr. Harry Beswick also joined in the discussion on the subject of the lecture.

Monday, December 13th, 1886.

The third monthly meeting of the session was held in the lecture theatre at the Grosvenor Museum. Dr. Henry Stolterfoth, M.A., in the chair.

Mr. Alfred Rimmer, joint author with the late Dean Howson of *Ancient Streets and Homesteads of England*, and other works, read a paper, entitled "The Black and White or Half-Timber Architecture of England, with a special reference to its development in Chester and the neighbourhood." Mr. Rimmer prefaced his remarks on the black and white architecture with an interesting *resume* of the general advance of architecture, the progress of which, he said, had been migratory from east to west. There was no doubt that the earliest forms of our architecture, the Saxon and the Norman, were based upon the Roman. If we went to Northampton, or Canterbury, or Leicester, or any of those places where there were the oldest Norman remains, and in some cases Saxon, we should find rude imitations of the Doric and Corinthian capitals. In the triforium of St. John's church, Chester, we find the capitals assuming a form which is not Corinthian but

English altogether—what is called Early English—which was reached after passing through many stages and after many checks. The Early English lasted from 1100 to 1200 roughly speaking, and the domestic largely corresponded with the ecclesiastical architecture of the times. At that period there was very little black and white architecture, but there was a great deal of wooden architecture. The houses of the peasants were built of solid oak logs, not unlike the log huts built by settlers in the wilds of North America. The feudal nobles, on the other hand, lived separately from the people in their great castles, with their retainers about them.

Coming down to a later period, the manor houses in Cheshire were strongly timbered; in fact, one beam in a Cheshire house he had seen at Baddiley would have been sufficient to timber a moderate sized dwelling-house in any other part of the kingdom. In Elizabeth's time there were some magnificent timbered houses in Cheshire and England generally, as well as other houses erected in the Elizabethan style. The Renaissance style, however, which came in with the architects Vanbrugh and Adams, was really responsible for the destruction of our timbered houses. Examples of this Renaissance style were seen in the earlier Eaton Hall, Blenheim, Bank Hall, Warrington, and Hooton Hall.

Mr. Rimmer then compared the English black and white structures with those of the Continent, very much to the advantage of our own, which were of much more solid construction, and alluded to numerous fine examples of timbered work, such as Stokesay, the earliest example extant, the old Town Hall at Hereford, Poulton Old Hall, &c. The Falcon Cocoa-house, in Chester, he described as a beautiful example, dating from Henry VIII.'s time. Photographs of some fine examples of timbered architecture in Shrewsbury, one of these in Butcher's Row being one of the oldest examples in England, were also exhibited. There was also a house belonging to the Ireland family, beauti-

fully enriched with carving. In conclusion, he recommended for the purposes of timbering, the black walnut of America, a wood which deserved to be better known in this country. By getting it ready cut and mortised from the United States they would be able to erect timbered houses very cheaply, and perhaps see a revival of this beautiful, irregular, and picturesque style in England.

A discussion followed, partly on a personal topic of no public interest, between Mr. E. A. Ould and the lecturer, and a few remarks were also offered by Mr. E. W. Cox and Mr. H. Beswick.

Mr. John Douglas, architect, exhibited six drawings of Little Moreton Hall, Cheshire, made by Mr. James Strong (formerly of Chester), and for which he obtained the silver medal of the Royal Institute of Architects.

Mr. Hodkinson, architect, also exhibited a sketch of the old Falcon Inn, now the Cocoa-house, in Bridge Street.

Mr. Rimmer showed a number of drawings by himself of half-timber architecture in Shrewsbury.

Monday, 10th January, 1887.

The fourth monthly meeting of the session was held in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum. The Venerable Edward Barber, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester, in the chair.

The Hon. General Secretary read extracts from Mr. Shrubsole's paper "On the Evidence of a Considerable Traffic in Coal, Lead, and Lime in Roman times between Deva and the Coast of North Wales," printed on pp. 76-90, and the discussion thereon (unavoidably postponed from the opening meeting) was resumed by the Chairman, Mr. T. Cann Hughes, B.A., Mr. Shrubsole, and the Hon. General Secretary.

Mr. Shrubsole, as curator, then exhibited and described several earthenware pipes now in the Society's museum, and supposed to be of Roman manufacture, and to have

formed part of a conduit for conveying water from the neighbourhood of Boughton.

The Roman brass coins belonging to the Society were also exhibited and described by the Curator, as were also a bronze mask, fibulæ, fine first brass (Domitian), gold coin (Titus), &c., all recently found in Chester, and now in the Museum.¹

The forty-three Roman Denarii of the Imperial series found in a hoard at the beginning of the present century at Eccleston, near Chester, long in the possession of Mr. George Cuitt, the artist, afterwards in the possession of his kinsman the late Mr. W. F. Ayrton (formerly one of the honorary secretaries of the Society), and now belonging to his widow, Mrs. Ayrton, Abbot's Rock, Chester, were also exhibited and described in writing by Mr. W. T. Ready, late of the British Museum (see pp. 91-97).

The baton of Patten (or Pattison) Ellames (Mayor of Chester, 1782), as chief constable of the city, lately presented to the Society by Alderman Charles Brown and now in the Museum, was also exhibited.

Monday, 14th February, 1887.

The fifth monthly meeting of the session was held in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum. Alderman Charles Brown in the chair.

Mr. E. W. Cox read a paper entitled, "Notes historical and legendary connected with the Church of St. Hilary, Wallasey, and its five rebuildings," which will be found printed on pp. 53-75. This paper was illustrated with several drawings and plans of the church.

The Chairman and several others made a few remarks on the various points raised by Mr. Cox in his paper.

¹ The small bronze mask is engraved in Mr. Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, p. 205, and a full list of the most important Roman coins in the Society's Museum in 1886, will be found in that book, pp. 227-232.

Monday, 14th March, 1887.

The sixth and last monthly meeting of the session was held in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum. The Venerable Edward Barber, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester, in the chair.

Mr. J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., author of the *History of East Cheshire*, Honorary Secretary of the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, &c., &c., read a paper on "The Ancient Deeds and Charters now preserved at High Legh, Cheshire, the property of Lieutenant-Colonel H. Cornwall Legh," which will be found on pp. 1-29.

Mr. Earwaker exhibited a large number of specimens of the most ancient and interesting deeds and charters, as well as many beautiful examples of heraldic art in the shape of coats of arms, pedigree rolls, and other documents, which were inspected by the members with considerable curiosity and pleasure.

Alderman Charles Brown, in reply to the lecturer's remarks respecting the city charters, said they had been put in order and properly labelled, but their contents were very little known, and he hoped Mr. Earwaker's references to them would have the desired effect in directing attention to their value and importance.

Mr. H. Taylor (Hon. General Secretary), in thanking the lecturer for his able and interesting paper, said Mr. Earwaker had shown how important and necessary it was that all public and private muniments should be catalogued and transcribed, not only for the benefit of historians, but also for the literary world, and the public in general. Few localities possessed such treasures in documentary records as did Chester and the neighbourhood. The Records of the County were removed in the autumn of 1854 from Chester Castle to the Public Record Office. They weighed thirteen tons, and filled five large luggage vans of the London and North-Western Railway Company. These documents had in a great measure been arranged and calendared, and the

contents of some portions of them have been printed in alphabetical calendars in the Blue Book Reports of the Deputy-keeper of the Public Records. These Reports threw a perfect flood of new light upon the history of the district included in the county palatine of Chester. The city of Chester possessed documents and muniments which were second only in importance to those of the county palatine itself, and it was for the corporation of Chester, as the custodians of these records, to see that their contents were properly transcribed, and the information they contained rendered accessible to the citizens, to students of history, and to the literary world in general. Mr. Taylor also remarked on the necessity for preserving all records, wherever they were found.

Saturday, 14th May, 1887.

The annual general meeting of the Society was held in the lecture theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, the Venerable Edward Barber, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester, in the chair. Present: The Right Worshipful the Mayor of Chester; the Revs. H. Grantham, S. Cooper Scott, M.A., and C. B. Griffiths, M.A.; General Ingall, C.B., J.P.; Dr. Stolterfoth, M.A., Dr. Davies Colley, J.P.; Alderman Charles Brown; Messrs. George A. Dickson, J.P., J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., T. Cann Hughes, B.A., P. H. Fletcher, I. E. Ewen (Hon. Librarian), H. Beswick, E. J. Baillie, F.L.S., Alexander Lamont, W. E. Brown, F. D. Thomas, I. Matthews Jones, George Frater (Hon. Treasurer), and Henry Taylor (Hon. General Secretary).

It was proposed by Alderman Charles Brown, seconded by Dr. Stolterfoth, and unanimously resolved, that the Hon. Treasurer's statement of accounts, as printed in the circular convening the meeting, be passed and published in the Society's *Journal* (see p. 125).

The Honorary General Secretary then read the following report:—

My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—During the last twelve months our Society has entered upon a new epoch in its history. A general meeting was held on the 21st of June last, when its re-constitution was decided upon, but the new rules were not finally adopted or the officers of the Society formally elected until the 7th of September last. In the meantime the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland held its annual meeting in this city from the 10th to the 17th of August last. This meeting was highly interesting and instructive, and was an undoubted success. His Grace, the Patron of our Society, was President of the meeting, and, together with his Lordship, the President of our Society, contributed in no small degree to the success of the meeting. The officers and members of our Society generally rendered every assistance to those in charge of the arrangements. I venture to think that this visit of the Institute to our ancient city has been of material advantage to our Society. Immediately afterwards you did me the honour to elect me your Honorary General Secretary. I put myself in communication with the members and other friends likely to contribute papers on archæological or historical subjects, and I am glad to say, late though it was when we began to work, we have been able to hold the whole of the six monthly meetings during the last session. It is many years since this was done. His Lordship, the President, opened the session with a very highly interesting address, and the papers which have been read are as follows: Mr. G. W. Shrubsall, F.G.S., "On the Evidence of a Considerable Traffic in Coal, Lead, and Lime in Roman Times between Deva and the Coast of North Wales;" Mr. John Hewitt, "On the Crypts and Rows of Chester;" Mr. Alfred Rimmer, "On Black and White and Half-timber Architecture;" Mr. E. W. Cox, "On Wallasey Church;" and last, but by no means least, Mr. J. P.

Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., "Upon the Ancient Charters and Deeds at High Legh."

It will be remembered that by the new rules the annual subscription of the members was reduced from one guinea to half a guinea. I am happy to say that the number of members has been increased from one hundred and twenty-seven to one hundred and ninety-seven, and many of the old members have intimated their intention to continue to pay their original guinea subscription; thus we have maintained our subscription income and have increased the number of those interested in the Society. The subscriptions of the new members do not, however, become payable until this year, so that we have not the benefit of these sums to the credit of the account now submitted to the meeting. While, however, we may congratulate ourselves that we have made a fair start, we must not shut our eyes to the fact that much remains to be done.

There are loud complaints as to the irregularity in publishing the *Journal* of the Society. Unless a move is made in this direction at once, I fear we shall lose a considerable number of our country members. Our old friend Mr. Thomas Hughes, the Editorial Secretary, to whom the Society owes much, not only as one of its founders, but also for his able efforts for its benefit in the past, is unfortunately not in robust health, and he has expressed a wish to be relieved, at any rate for the present, from the duties of office, but I am glad to be able to say that we shall always have in him a willing as well as an able adviser and member of the council. We are fortunate in having induced Mr. Earwaker to succeed Mr. Hughes for the present, if elected, and I have no doubt with him at the helm, our Society will soon recover its lost ground in this department. The library, I am glad to say, is at the present time in better condition than it has been for many years. Our Honorary Librarian, Mr. Ewen, has

devoted much time and attention to it. The books are now completely bound and catalogued, and the prints and diagrams are arranged and classified. They form a very interesting collection. I hope, however, they are only the nucleus of a much larger archæological and historical library. We shall be glad if kind friends who are members of either of the Houses of Parliament or members of Royal Commissions will kindly see that the Government supply us with blue-book and other reports relating to archæological and historical subjects, and I take this opportunity of saying that all contributions to the library will be most thankfully received.

As to the Museum, we have to thank Mr. Shrubsole, our Honorary Curator, not only for the very great care and attention he has bestowed upon the antiquities in this building, but also for the great watchfulness and energy he has displayed in the interests of our Society, and indeed of the citizens generally, whenever any Roman or other remains have been discovered within the limits of the city and neighbourhood. Unfortunately, however, we are very short of museum room. We hope, however, that before long we shall be able to have a large room to ourselves where our exhibits will be undisturbed, and where we can show to our American friends, and others perhaps, as fine a collection of local antiquities as can be found in any town in the kingdom. We intend ere long to join the Natural Science Society in their excursions, when they visit neighbourhoods, where there are objects of archæological or historical interest. Possibly we may make a start in this direction in the course of the summer.

It will be observed in the accounts of the Honorary Treasurer (to whom the Society is much indebted for the clear and able manner in which he keeps the books and attends to the interests of the Society) that the Derby Palace property has cost us more by

some £7 odd than we have received from it. The average income of this property is about £40 per annum, but the whole of this year's income has been absorbed in carrying out the requirements of the sanitary officers of the corporation, and in addition to this we have had to paint the property. It is now in good order, but before long I hope that the Council will be called upon to consider a scheme for the improvement of the Palace, which is thought to be capable of bringing in a considerably increased revenue. It will also be noticed in the accounts that there is a considerable item for payments made for printing back numbers of the *Journal*. I am glad to be able to say that all our printing and other old accounts are now paid off, and the balance of the accounts presented to the meeting shows the actual amount in hand after payment of every known claim to date. In conclusion, I take this opportunity of thanking my brother officers and the members of the Council (especially the Archdeacon of Chester) for their cordial assistance on all occasions. I am very sorry to say that we have lost—at any rate for the present—the valuable services of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. T. Cann Hughes, who has accepted an appointment in the Town Clerk's office in Manchester, and it will be for the meeting to-day to elect someone in his place.—I have the honour to be, my lords, ladies, and gentlemen, yours faithfully,

HENRY TAYLOR, Honorary General Secretary.

It was proposed by the Chairman, and seconded by Alderman Charles Brown, and unanimously resolved that the Hon. Secretary's report be entered on the minutes and printed in the *Journal*.

It was proposed by the Right Worshipful the Mayor, seconded by General Ingall, C.B., and unanimously carried, that the following lords and gentlemen be appointed the Council for the forthcoming session:—

Patron.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, K.G.
(*Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire.*)

COUNCIL.

President.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CHESTER, D.D., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD EGERTON OF TATTON.
THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF CHESTER
THE SHERIFF OF CHESTER
THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF CHESTER, D.D. }
THE VENERABLE THE ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER, M.A. }
His HONOUR JUDGE HORATIO LLOYD, *Record:r of Chester.*
His HONOUR JUDGE WYNNE FOULKES, M.A.
MR. THOMAS HUGHES, F.S.A.
MR. FREDERICK POTTS.

Ex-Officio.

Hon. Secretaries.

Editorial: MR. J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.
General: MR. HENRY TAYLOR.
Assistant: MR. HARRY BESWICK.

Hon. Curator.

MR. G. W. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S.

Hon. Librarian.

MR. I. E. EWEN.

Hon. Treasurer.

MR. GEORGE FRATER.

Elected Members.

To Retire in May, 1888.
MR. JOHN HEWITT.
MR. ISAAC MATTHEWS JONES.
MR. ALEXANDER LAMONT.
DR. STOLTERFOOTH, M.A.
REV. S. COOPER SCOTT, M.A.

To Retire in May, 1889.
MR. E. J. BAILLIE, F.L.S.
MR. ALDERMAN CHARLES BROWN.
MR. F. BULLIN, J.P.
DR. DAVIES-COLLEY, J.P.
REV. H. GRANTHAM.

The Hon. Secretary then read the following letter:—

The Groves, Chester, May 11th, 1887.

Dear Mr. Taylor,—Our quiet conference together on Friday last, which was supplemented by an equally earnest one more recently with my son, enables me to approach with some composure a subject which has long and painfully agitated my thoughts. I refer to my honoured position for nearly thirty-five years as an officer of our venerated *Society*—during the greater part of that time, indeed, sole *editor* of its published *Journal*.

You will readily believe that, notwithstanding the severe illness

which prostrated me now some six years ago, I then (as indeed I have ever since) indulged the hope that I might be spared, not only to pilot volume iii. to its completion, but also to proceed at once with the commencement of volume iv.

The first of these anticipations, which included a preface and full index to the third volume, was last year happily accomplished; thus the present is, I conceive, an opportune moment for taking a step which the illness named seems, Providentially as it were, to have forced upon me.

The interests of my beloved Society which, I cannot but feel, have recently suffered more or less through my inaction, must no longer be endangered by that or any other cause, even distantly, controllable by me.

The new part of the *Journal* ought now, as we are all of us agreed, to be put quickly to press, and it may yet be some time ere your present Editorial Secretary (if indeed ever) will be strong enough to carry out the work so satisfactorily as he and you could wish.

I will ask you therefore kindly to make known to our worthy brethren of the Council, and if need be to the annual meeting, these my sentiments of affection for the old Society. And I authorise and request you to place my *Resignation* of the *Editorship* in the hands of the Council; confidently trusting and believing that, under the new régime, "all will go merrily as a marriage bell" with the Society, and with whatever may, now or hereafter, promote the cause of Cheshire Archaeology and of Historic Research.

Finally, if in any way it may be thought that my experience can at all help in the Local Antiquarian field, such will, while I live and retain my faculties unimpaired, ever be at the service of the Society.—Believe me, my dear sir, with the warmest good will for you personally,

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS HUGHES.

Proposed by Dr. Davies-Colley, seconded by the Rev. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., and unanimously resolved that the best thanks of this Society be accorded to Mr. Thomas Hughes, F.S.A., for his valuable services during the long period of thirty-five years, and that his letter and this resolution be printed in the Society's *Journal*.

Proposed by Mr. George A. Dickson, J.P., seconded by Mr. P. H. Fletcher, and unanimously resolved that the best thanks of the members be given to the President and Council for their work during the past year.

The Hon. Secretary then read the following suggestions as to the transcribing and printing of the Chester City Records,

submitted by the Council of the Society to the members in general meeting :—

REPORT AND SUGGESTIONS RELATING TO THE CITY RECORDS.

Mr. Jeaffreson, in his report on the muniments of the corporation of Chester, printed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1881, states that “few provincial cities possess archives so numerous and so valuable as those now in the muniment room of the Town Hall of the city of Chester.” And yet these documents are practically unknown to the citizens, and very few even are aware of their existence.

At the present time, when so much attention is everywhere being directed to the scientific study of the past, and when so much interest is taken in antiquarian matters by all educated people, it seems only fitting that the corporation of Chester, who are the owners of these valuable records, should, if possible, follow the example which is being set them in all directions and have the most valuable of their archives transcribed and printed. Extracts from the Records of the City of Oxford were printed in 1880; one volume of the Liverpool Municipal Records appeared in 1883, and another is now in the press; three volumes of the Records of the Borough of Nottingham have recently appeared, and the Manchester corporation have just printed four volumes of their early Court Leet Records, and are continuing their publication down to modern times. The Municipal Records of Bath have also recently been printed, and a volume of extracts from those of Carlisle have been issued this year. Other instances might be given, but these will serve to show how much attention is now being paid to the publication of these documents, which throw light upon the quaint municipal government of days gone by, and it would be a great misfortune if such really important

records, as those relating to the city of Chester, should not be similarly made known.

Of the MSS. now in the muniment room in the Town Hall, the most important, as regards the past history of the city, would appear to be those known by the following designations: Firstly, the Assembly Books; secondly, the Mayor's Books; and thirdly, the Pentice Chartulary.

The Assembly Books are the books containing the various "orders" passed at the assemblies or meetings of the mayor, aldermen, and common council, held in the Town Hall of the city, for the transaction of municipal business. The earliest of these books commences in 1539, the thirty-first year of the reign of Henry the Eighth, and the entries extend through the reigns of Edward VI., Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, to the end of that of James I., 1624. The second covers the years between 1624 and 1684, and the third goes from 1684 to 1724. The earliest volume was for a long time lost to the city, and was only recovered some twenty or thirty years ago by the late Town Clerk, Mr. Walker, and it has since been carefully repaired and bound. Its contents are most miscellaneous, but full of interest, the various "orders" embracing such widely different subjects as the regulation of the sports on Shrove Tuesday, and the ordering of what caps, kerchiefs and hats should be worn by women; the encouragement of archery, and the regulation of the Whitsun plays; the refusal to make a person free of the city because he was far too rich for a city of poor traders; and the absolute prohibition of any stage plays being performed anywhere in the city after six o'clock in the evening, and so on. The volume abounds in quaint details of the past history of Chester, and is well worthy of having its contents made widely known. The second volume—1624 to 1684—is full of details concerning the history

of Chester during the Civil War; and the third gives an insight into the history of the city during the reign of James II., William and Mary, Queen Anne and George I.

The Mayor's Books commence much earlier than the Assembly Books, but they are not so full of matter of historical importance, and there are many gaps in their continuity. The earliest are in Latin, commencing in 1393, and they come down to the early part of this century. They supply the names of the various mayors, aldermen, &c., and the officers of the corporation for the various years for which the books exist, as well as the names of those persons who were made free of the city; and they contain much of interest relating to the city, of which there is no other record.

The Pentice Chartulary is a volume of much interest. It was commenced in 1576 with the view of entering copies and translations of all the charters, grants, and other records relating to the city, so as to ensure their preservation, and by this means many documents, the originals of which are now lost, have been preserved to us. It would be well at some period to print the greater part of the contents of this volume, as well as the many original charters, &c., now in the possession of the corporation, and this might be done after the Assembly Books have been first gone through.

It only remains to add that it is most important that all the Records printed by the corporation should be very carefully transcribed and properly edited, so as to ensure complete accuracy, and the editor should be requested to provide annotations and explanations in foot notes, so as to render the meaning of what is printed as clear as possible. If the work is judiciously undertaken, it is possible that the expense of printing might be repaid by the subscriptions of those who would wish to purchase copies of the printed volumes,

so that the only cost to the corporation would be the expense of the transcripts, and the remuneration of the editor. The latter should, if possible, be a gentleman familiar with these Records and accustomed to the work of editing them.

Proposed by General Ingall, C.B., seconded by Dr. Stolterfoth, and unanimously resolved, that this annual meeting of the Society requests the Council to take the necessary steps to bring the important question of printing the city records before the corporation of Chester.

The secretary read letters from Dr. Brushfield, Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., and other old members of the Society, expressing regret at their inability to attend the meeting, and the hope that the city would be induced to authorise the publication of their valuable records, which were well known to be of such general interest that they ought to be printed *in extenso*, and offering to become subscribers.

Mr. J. P. Earwaker, being called upon by the Chairman, made a few remarks on the City Records, and also on the Registers and Parish Records of St. Mary on the Hill. The Rev. H. Grantham, the rector of St. Mary's parish, stated that as far as he was concerned he would willingly consent to the Registers being printed, and he had no doubt but that the churchwardens would consent.

Proposed by Mr. T. Cann Hughes, seconded by Mr. J. E. Ewen, and unanimously resolved, that the Hon. General Secretary communicate with the rector and churchwardens of that parish, with a view to the transcribing and printing of the Parish Registers, as well as extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the proceedings to a close.

THE CHESTER ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.
GEORGE FRATER, HON. TREASURER.

Cr. STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1886. Dr.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Balance in hand from 1885 ...	103 0 5	To Rent, &c. ...
" Subscriptions ...	79 12 6	" Caretaker ...
" Arrears of Subscriptions ...	2 0 0	" Removal Expenses ...
" Journals sold ...	3 3 0	" Printing <i>Journal</i> , part xii., division 1 and 2 ...
" Balance of Derby House Rents ...	0 14 11	" Liverpool, London, and Globe Insurance Co. ...
" Sundries ...	0 7 0	" Repairs, &c. ...
" Interest allowed by Bankers ...	2 10 3	" Books for Library ...
		" Shorthand Report of Opening Lecture ...
		" Contract for Painting Derby House ...
		" Printing and Stationery ...
		" Secretarial and Sundry Expenses ...
		" Balance in Messrs. Williams & Co.'s Bank ...
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		£191 8 1

6th April, 1887.

Examined and found correct,
(Signed) H. W. JONES (Hon. Auditor).



LIST OF THE MEMBERS ELECTED IN THE SESSION 1886-7.

At the Council Meeting held 31st May, 1886.

Alfred Rimmer, Crook Street, Chester.

At the Council Meeting held 21st June, 1886.

Hon. T. R. Brushfield, M.D., Budleigh Salterton, Exeter.

Hon. W. Beamont, Orford Hall, Warrington.

Hon. J. Paul Rylands, F.S.A., Heather Lea, Claughton, Birkenhead.

At the General Meeting held 7th September, 1886.

Mrs. J. H. Hignett, 18, Hough Green, Chester.

Thomas Hignett, 14, Hough Green, Chester.

R. C. Drury, Abbotsfield, Chester.

Miss L. E. Brown, The Folly, Flookersbrook, Chester.

Harry Beswick, Newgate Street, Chester.

The Rev. Thos. Cox, Upton Park, Chester.

At the Council Meeting held 6th October, 1886.

Lt.-Col. Arthur Mesham, Pontryffydd, Bodfari, Rhyl.

J. Burnside Taylor, 4, Hough Green, Chester.

The Rev. George Preston, M.A., The King's School, Chester.

Mrs. G. R. Griffith, Hough Green, Chester.

The Rev. S. Cooper Scott, M.A., St. John's Rectory, Chester.

Walter G. Schroeder, 22, Chichester Street, Chester.

J. C. Stivens, 15, Abbey Street, Chester.

J. R. Thomson, Bank House, St. Werburgh Street, Chester.

John Cullimore, The Friars, Chester.

F. F. Brown, Eastgate Row, Chester.

T. S. Gleadwe, M.A., Alderley Edge, Chester.

Edward W. Cox, The Old Hall, Flookersbrook, Chester.

J. G. Holmes, Curzon Park, Chester.

Col. David Scotland, Eccleston Hall, Chester.
 The Rev. Edward Marston, M.A., Rector of Holy Trinity, 82, Watergate Flags, Chester.
 Gen. W. J. Ingall, C.B., Queen's Park, Chester.
 J. P. Cartwright, The Elms, Floockersbrook, Chester.
 Benjamin C. Roberts, Oakfield, Upton, Chester.
 Miss Helen Pitcairn Campbell, Vicar's Cross, Chester.
 George Edward Barber, St. Bridget's Rectory, Chester.
 Edward Hodkinson, Pepper Street, Chester.
 Miss M. H. Taylor, 4, Curzon Park, Chester.
 W. H. Okell, 1, Northgate Street, Chester.
 Mrs. Wm. Pritchard, Watergate Row, Chester.
 Mrs. J. H. A. Hall, The Old Bank House, Chester.
 Hon. Mrs. Bodvel Griffith, Stoak Vicarage, Cheshire.
 W. C. Deeley, Curzon Park, Chester.

At the Council Meeting held 13th October, 1886.

George A. Dickson, J.P., Springfield, Chester.
 Thomas McHenry Hughes, M.A., F.S.A., Woodwardian Professor of Geology, Cambridge.
 Mrs. A. O. Walker, The Leadworks, Chester.
 Thomas Wakefield, Parkgate Road, Chester.
 Alexander Lamont, jun., Eastgate Street North, Chester.

At the General Meeting held 20th October, 1886.

Mrs. Pitcairn Campbell, Vicar's Cross, Chester.
 Mrs. Gamon, Curzon Park, Chester.
 Paul Price, 54, Northgate Street, Chester.
 T. J. Powell, 14, Newgate Street, Chester.
 Wm. Conway, 4, Liverpool Road, Chester.
 A. E. Ould, 3, Chichester Street, Chester.
 Miss Cummings, 9, King's Buildings, Chester.
 Miss Annette Hamel, 63, Watergate Row South, Chester.

At the Council Meeting held 3rd November, 1886.

R. Venables Kyrke, Pen-y-Wern, Mold.
 Samuel Rigby, J.P., Fern Bank, Liverpool Road, Chester.
 B. Ll. Vawdrey, Tushingham Hall, Whitchurch, Salop.
 The Hon. and Rev. W. Trevor Kenyon, M.A., Malpas Rectory, Whitchurch, Salop.
 John Phillipson, Liverpool Road, Chester.
 The Rev. F. Howson, M.A., Egerton House, Chester.
 Miss Howson, Egerton House, Chester.
 Miss A. M. Howson, Egerton House, Chester.
 W. E. Brown, Bouvierie Street, Chester.

The Rev. John Williams, Cheyney Road, Chester.
 E. R. Knowles, Grosvenor Street, Chester.

At the General Meeting held 8th November, 1886.

D. P. Fordham, 2, Abbey Square, Chester.
 Charles Howard Minshull, Abbey Square, Chester.
 Edward Thomas, Pepper Street, Chester.
 Dr. Haynes Thomas, Pepper Street, Chester.
 F. D. Thomas, Pepper Street, Chester.

At the Council Meeting held 7th December, 1886.

D. A. V. Colt-Williams, Richmond House, Boughton, Chester.
 C. P. Douglas, 5, Stanley Place, Chester.
 Wm. Trevor Parkins, M.A., Glasfryn, Gresford.
 H. B. Dutton, Curzon Park, Chester.
 The Rev. Matthew Henry Lee, M.A., The Vicarage, Hanmer, Whit-church, Salop.
 Thomas Bate, J.P., Kelsterton, Flint.
 Michael Johnson, Lorne Street North, Chester.
 R. Pinches, Newgate Street, Chester.
 William Roberts, The Northgate, Chester.
 James Williams, Tarvin Road, Chester.

At the Council Meeting held 31st January, 1887.

Mrs. Elizabeth Crockett, 15, Hough Green, Chester.
 William Williams, Stone Bridge, Chester.



APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS

FOR THE

SESSIONS 1882-3 to 1885-6.

NOTE.

In the last volume of the old series of the *Journal*, issued in 1885, the Proceedings are brought down to the meeting held on the 13th November, 1872. From that date to the 18th December, 1882, the meetings were held at very irregular intervals, and no summary of the Proceedings, nor any reports of the papers read at such meetings, appear to be now available for publication.

It is, however, only right to add that the accounts of the Society, 1865 to 1882, and for the years 1883, 1884, and 1885, will be found at the end of the last volume of the old series of the *Journal*.

Seven hundred and seventy-five pounds of the Society's money was spent on the purchase of the Derby House property, which now brings in an annual income of about forty pounds.



PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS, 1883 TO 1886.

SESSION 1882-3.

Monday, 18th December, 1882.

THE opening meeting of the session 1882-3 was held at the Albion Rooms, Lower Bridge Street, on Monday, the 18th December, 1882, at eight o'clock.

The Very Rev. Dean Howson delivered a lecture on "The Sibyls in Christian Poetry and Christian Art," illustrated by some ancient glass at Dunham Hall, Cheshire.

Mr. G. W. Shrubsole exhibited an antique bronze seal recently discovered in the debris removed from the fine Norman Crypt (on the west exterior side of the present cloisters), now the property of the King's School.

Mr. A. T. Bannister gave a short account of a Roman altar discovered in Chester in 1648 or 1653, and now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Mr. T. Cann Hughes exhibited and described a Roman coin found in Flintshire.

NOTES ON THE ROMAN ALTAR FOUND AT CHESTER IN
1648, BY MR. A. T. BANNISTER.

"There is in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, a Roman altar, 'found at Chester in 1653, in the Forest Street, while digging a cellar at the house of Richard Tyrer, without the Eastgate of the City, about two ells (*ulnas*) beneath the surface.' This is the account of Maittaire (*Mar. Arund.*, in Mar. 45). A MS. quoted by Hearne, however, gives the date as 1648, and says it was found 'at the "Greyhound," in the Forest Street.' Very possibly the earlier date is correct. Maittaire seems to have been misled by the date of a correspondence relating to the altar, which passed in 1653 between Sir William Dugdale and Dr. Langbaine, of Queen's College, Oxford, and between the latter and Selden. But in this correspondence Selden mentions that he has already heard of the discovery 'by 5 or 6 hands'; hence it may well have been really discovered some few years before, as Hearne's MS. says. The altar lay in Richard Tyrer's garden until the year 1675, when Francis Cholmley, Esq., brother of Lord Thomas Cholmley, of Vale Royal, 'at no little expense' had it transferred to Oxford, where it now remains. The altar is a square column of red sandstone, and stands three feet high; its breadth at the top is sixteen inches. On the top it has a hollow, which seems to have held the fire in which the incense was burned. On one of the sides of the column is carved a jug or vase (partially defaced); another side has a laurel wreath; the third an open flower with five petals, resembling a Tudor rose; on the fourth face is the inscription, of which only a few letters can now be deciphered. (There is an engraving of the altar in Hearne's *Chronicon Prioratus de Dunstable*, Oxford, 1733.) The inscription was worn away, probably with lying in Richard Tyrer's garden so long, even before the altar came to Oxford.

"We are indebted for the correct reading to 'Dominus Johannes Gnehagh, Scholæ Cestriensis Archididascalus'

(Head Master of the [King's] School, Chester), who carefully transcribed it when the stone was first found. This John Greenhalgh was Master of the King's School during the latter part of the reign of Charles I. and the early years of the Commonwealth. He was ejected from his office for showing favour to the Royalists, and was afterwards Head Master of Witton Grammar School, Northwich, which office he held until his death. He was buried in Great Budworth Church. The inscription is as follows:—

I.O.M. TANARO
T. ELVPIUS GALER.
PRAESENS GUN'A.
PRI. LEG. XX. V.V.
COMMODO ET
LATERANO COS.
V.S.L.M.

That is, expanding: *Jovi optimo maximo Tanaro T. Elupius Galerius, Præsens Gun(t)a, Primipilus Legionis vicesimæ, Valeræ, Victricis, Commodo et Laterano consulibus, votum solvit libens merito* (or, as Prideaux badly puts it, *liberatus malo*). ‘To Jupiter Tanarus, Best and Greatest, *T. Elupius Galerius, Præsens Gun(t)a* (?), Chief Centurion of the Victorious 20th, the Valerian Legion, when *Commodus* and *Lateranus* were *Consules*, performed his vow willingly and dutifully.’

“ The date of the altar is fixed by the names of the consuls for the year, as 154 A.D., when *Antoninus Pius* was emperor. Several interesting questions are raised by this inscription, which we can only touch briefly upon. First, what is the meaning of *Jupiter Tanarus*? It was a frequent custom among ancient nations, in speaking of a god, to add some attribute, or the place at which he was chiefly worshipped; thus we find *Jupiter Tonans*, *Capitolinus*, *Olympius*, &c. But nowhere do we find any mention of *Jupiter Tanarus* except in this inscription. What then does it mean? Now, Camden (*Britannia*, p. 12) says that

the Britons worshipped Jupiter under the name *Tanaris*. We find in *Lucan*, too, a Gaulish (therefore, in all probability, British) god called *Tanaris* or *Taranis*. Dominus Grenehalgh, also (*apud* Humphrey Prideaux), says he learnt by inquiry in Wales that the Welsh *Tanara*=Latin, *Tonitru*. From all this we may fairly conclude (as Selden suggests in a letter to Dr. Langbaine) that Jupiter *Tanarus* is the same as Jupiter *Tonans*. Wright (in *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*) identifies Jupiter *Tanarus* with the Teutonic *Thunar*, the Scandinavian *Thor*, whose name is preserved in our Thursday; and adduces this as a proof of Saxon influence at work in Britain even in very early times. But there is no proof whatever that the Saxons set foot in England until at least two hundred and fifty years after this altar was dedicated; and even then they came as enemies, and it is not likely the Britons would adopt a god from their bitterest foes. *Tanaris* and *Thunar* (modern German *donner*, English *thunder*) seem to me entirely independent attempts to represent by onomatopœia the sound of thunder. It is no proof whatever of intercourse between the two peoples. A Celtic scholar, whose name I unfortunately forget, says somewhere that the true Celtic word for thunder is *tarana*, which agrees with *taranis*, the best reading in the passage of *Lucan* (Ph. i. 446), and would lead to the supposition that *tanarus* is a mistake of the carver for *taranis*.

"Next we have to inquire what is *Præsens Gunta*? Dominus Grenehalgh thinks *gunta* an abbreviation for *gubernator*, and would render it 'resident governor'—i.e. of one of the two divisions of Britain. To this Prideaux objects that Galerius was only a *primipilus*, while a governor would be at least a tribune. (The expression *præsens gubernator*, moreover, would be absolutely unparalleled.) Prideaux himself, considering that the letter 'n' was inserted in *præsens* by mistake, and that *gunta* is an abbreviation, would read '*Præses Guinethæ*'. The province of *Guinetha* very nearly corresponds to what is now North

Wales. Pausanias (*Arcadica*) says that this province was frequently invaded by the Brigantes (who inhabited all the north of England). Prideaux considers it likely, therefore, that Galerius, as *Præses* or Lieutenant-Governor of *Guinetha*, may have vowed this altar during an inroad of the *Brigantes*, and paid the vow after successfully repelling them. Maittaire (*Mar. Oxon.* 1732) makes *præsens* an abbreviation for *præsentialis*, and adds—‘*Præsentiales autem erant satellites imperatori aut Proconsularibus in Provinciis quasi semper præsentes.*’ He does not notice *gunta*. Wright makes Galerius a native of Guntia, in Vindelicia (as I believe does Horsey), which is highly improbable, if not impossible, since the Legion had been one hundred years in Britain, and had settled there. On the whole, the explanation of Prideaux seems by far the best.

“ The Twentieth Legion: Gruter (*Corpus Inscript. Roman.*, Heid., 1707) gives several inscriptions containing the words LEG XX. VALENS. VICTR.; and in ancient authors we find the Legion called indiscriminately ‘*valens*’ and ‘*valeria*.’ The truth may possibly be as follows:—Several legions were called ‘*victrix*’ (notably the sixth; cf. *Dio. Cass.* 55). To prevent confusion the Twentieth Legion was called ‘*Valeriana*,’ after a certain *Valerius*, who once commanded it. As time passed on, and *Valerius* was forgotten, while the letters ‘*V.V.*’ were still suffixed to the title of the Legion, men erroneously began to call it ‘*Valens Victrix*.’ This Legion was originally stationed in Germany (cf. *Tacitus* ‘Annals’ Bk.). Thence (*circiter* 68 A.D.) it was transferred to Britain, and stationed at Chester (which town Camden considers had been founded only a few years previously) to check the *Ordovices* (North Welsh). (Cf. *Camd. Brit.*, vol. iii., p. 41.) The Legion remained at Chester for about a hundred and fifty years at least, and probably until the Romans finally left the island, A.D. 411.¹

“ Before concluding, I would recommend that the Chester

¹ See a letter on this altar by Mr. Thompson Watkin, and the reply of Mr. Bannister, on pp. 157-161.

Archæological Society should attempt to get this altar restored to Chester. It is at present stowed away in a cellar of the Museum at Oxford, and I have no doubt but that, if application were made in the proper quarters, its recovery might be effected."

A large cartoon drawing of the altar was exhibited by Mr. John Hewitt.

ROMAN COIN FOUND IN FLINTSHIRE.

Mr. Cann Hughes said his father had desired him to express his regret at not being able to be present that evening, but hoped the time might soon come when he would be able to come amongst them again. In the meantime he had sent the following paper, which, with their permission, he would read:—

" My son brought intelligence to me, from Mr. J. D. Siddall, that Mr. Alfred O. Walker, of the Lead Works, had that day shewn him a fine Roman coin, discovered just before in a long disused washing-floor of the Tal-alar-Goch Lead Mine, not far from Prestatyn, in the adjoining county of Flint; and that both the coin and its inscription were in a first-class state. I immediately wrote to our good friend Mr. Walker, appealing to him to lend me the coin for exhibition at this re-opening meeting of the Society as the *very latest* Roman discovery of local interest. Mr. Walker had in the interim mislaid the coin, but it fortunately found its way back to him; and he next day sent it on to me with the following note:—

Dear Mr. Hughes,—Herewith I send the coin, which, when you have done with it, I shall be much obliged by your placing in the collection of the Chester Archæological Society, with a label, stating that it was found under the ore-dressing floor at the Talargoch Lead Mine, Dyserth, Flintshire. I have always heard that the mine was worked in the time of the Romans, but can give you no authority, nor can I find it mentioned in Pennant's *Tour in Wales*. Try his *Whitford and Holywell*, if you have it.—Yours truly,

ALFRED O. WALKER.

And now a few words as to the coin itself. It is a really fine first brass of Gordian III., who was son of Gordianus Africanus II., and grandson of Gordianus Africanus I., all three of them Emperors successively over Rome A.D. 238 to 244. The obverse of the coin presents the Emperor's head wreathed, and with a boyish, unshaven face, for he was but sixteen years old when, on the massacre of the joint Emperors Balbinus and Pupienus, in A.D. 238, he was raised to the throne of his fathers. As he reigned but six years, having been himself assassinated by the orders of Philip, who succeeded him in A.D. 244, we may put him down as about nineteen when the coin now before you was struck. The inscription on the obverse runs (extended) as follows :—

IMP[ERATOR] GORDIANVS PIVS FEL[IX] AVG[VSTVS].

The reverse shews a female figure, probably the goddess *Par*, sitting and holding a palm branch in her hand, surrounded with the inscription (extended)—

P[ONTIFEX] M[AXIMVS] T[RIBVNVS] R[OMANI] P[OPVLI] IIII.
COS II. P[ATER] P[ATRIÆ].¹

I myself possess a silver coin of this same Gordian III., dug up from a grave on the north side of St. John's churchyard, Chester, on March 20th, 1874, during the year of my churchwardenship, and given to me on the spot by Mr. John Powell, the then sexton. My specimen has the Emperor's head on the obverse, and on the reverse the legend, 'DIANA LVCIFERA,' 'light' being one of the attributes of that popular goddess. My coin comes from a Chester graveyard, but Mr. Walker's has been reposing for perhaps one thousand six hundred years under a disused ore-dressing floor of the Talargoch Lead Mine, not far from the mouth of the River Dee! How it came there can never absolutely be known, but we may with very good reason conjecture it was part of the hard-earned wage

¹For a correction of this reading see p. 158.

of a Romanized Briton, who was then a daily toiler, like so many of his successors are now in that self-same valuable mine. However doubtful the fact may have been hitherto as to the Roman origin and character of those ancient workings, this very recent discovery seems to settle it more completely in the affirmative. Mr. Alfred O. Walker's considerate kindness in presenting this genuine relic to the Chester Archæological Society will, I trust, entitle him to-night to that Society's warmest thanks."

Monday, 29th January, 1883.

The second meeting of the Session 1882-3 was held at the Albion Rooms, Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 29th January, 1883, at eight o'clock.

The Very Rev. Dean Howson gave an explanation of the New Museum scheme.

Mr. J. E. Bailey, F.S.A., read a paper on "Christopher Goodman, Archdeacon of Richmond, Rector of Aldford; a native of Chester, the personal friend and colleague of John Knox."

Letters from Mr. W. Thompson Watkin and Mr. Bannister were read on the Roman altar found at Chester in 1648, and now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, an account of which was given at the meeting in December last.

CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN, ARCHDEACON OF RICHMOND,
RECTOR OF ALDFORD; A NATIVE OF CHESTER.¹
BY J. E. BAILEY, F.S.A.

"If Cheshire gave no martyrs to the cause of the Reformation it offered its confessors. Amongst the Continental exiles in the reign of Queen Mary were two Chester men of note—Christopher Goodman and William Whittingham. It is true that they represented the extreme Calvinist wing of the reformed party, and that they at first

¹ Owing to Mr. Bailey's ill-health, this paper has not had the benefit of his supervision and correction.

regarded the Elizabethan settlement in a very different light from that of Hooker. In course of time, however, they came to recognise the reasonableness and sobriety of its polity ; and, no longer holding aloof from it, accepted positions of mark, the one as Archdeacon of Richmond, the other as Dean of Durham. In their exile they were engaged in common literary undertakings, including the preparation of the Genevan Bible; and they were both concerned in a book of dangerous consequence on 'Disobedience to Magistrates,' the arguments of which have been discussed at more than one critical period of our history, particularly at the time of the death of Charles I, In the discussion which then arose Milton took occasion to bestow high praise on Goodman and his associates, saying of them in his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. 'These were the true Protestant Divines of England, our Fathers in the faith we hold.'

"The events of the career of a man like Christopher Goodman will never be lacking in interest. Ormerod says that he was descended from the Goodmans of Golborne David, in Broxton Hundred, where the family held property. Some of them settled at Chester. Richard Goodman was Sheriff of the city in 1492, and Mayor in 1498 and 1503. Hamnet Goodman was Sheriff in 1505, and William Goodman in 1514. The latter became Mayor in 1532, again in 1536, and once more in 1550, when he served out the time in place of Edmund Gee, who died in that year of the 'sweating sickness,' and was buried in Holy Trinity Church. Ralph Goodman was in 1529 Sheriff, and in 1547 became Mayor, his son Ralph, who had been admitted to the freedom of the city 30 Henry VIII., becoming Sheriff in 1550. Adam Goodman, perhaps an uncle, served the Shrievalty in 1542 as the colleague of Edmund Gee. Only four of the family appear on the extant rolls of the Chester Freemen, viz.:—Ralph Goodman, son of Ralph Goodman, alderman, 30 Henry VIII.; Hugh Goodman, gentleman, 35 Henry VIII.; William Goodman, son of Adam Good-

man, alderman, 2 Elizabeth; Christopher Goodman, gentleman and preacher, 22 Elizabeth. The above William, son of Adam, became Sheriff of the city and succeeded to the Mayoralty in 1579, in which year he died; and he was the last of the name who held a municipal office. The William first named, a merchant, was probably the father of Christopher; his will is dated 1554, and has been printed by the Chetham Society. He mentions four sons,—John, Paul, Adam, and Christopher—and as many daughters. He left considerable property, Christopher's share of which was four pounds. The household seems to have been Catholic, for 'Sir Rauf our priest' has ten shillings. His wife was Margaret, daughter of Sir Wm. Brereton.

Christopher, who would be born about 1519, if indeed not later, was educated at the school attached to the Abbey of St. Werburgh, at Chester, and was one of the four University students appointed *per fundationem* in 1541, as from the King's School. He was M.A., of Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1544. In 1547 he obtained a senior studentship in Christ Church College, soon after its foundation. In 1551 he was admitted to the reading of the sentences. At Oxford, it is presumed, he was a keen observer of the ecclesiastical changes of the time, and was brought under the influence of the Protestants. The same also may be said of Wm. Whittingham, a boy who five years later followed Goodman from Chester to Oxford at the same colleges, the two becoming associates throughout life. Goodman, who is called M.A., student of Christ Church, was appointed Professor of Divinity about 1548, and held that office until 1553, when a successor of a different faith was appointed.

"On Queen Mary succeeding to the throne, Goodman, with Whittingham and others, who were ardent Protestants, fled to the Continent. He was in England 25th March, 1554 (*Maitland*, p. 102). On November 23rd that year we meet with him at Strasburgh. The correspondence of one of the exiles was directed to be sent to 'Christopher

Goodman, at the house of Marta Doctor Peter Martyr; and he (Goodman) will take care to forward it, whatever it be, to me, at Antwerp. I shall henceforth make use of his assistance in communicating such news as may occur there and which it may be desirable for you (Henry Bullinger) to know.' Goodman termed Martyr his honoured master; and Martyr entertained for Goodman a paternal regard. At Frankfort, Goodman, with John Knox and Whittingham, took part with those of the exiles who on the 'troubles' or dissensions there opposed the use of the liturgy and discipline. Fuller terms them 'furious sticklers' for their views (*Ch. Hist.* fol. ix. 76). It is supposed that Goodman left Frankfort in September, 1555, for Geneva (*Zur. Letters*, iii. 769). *The Troubles at Frankfort* was from the pen of Whittingham (Knox's *Works*, iv. 5), on the subject of the Frankfort Controversy, and deals with his relation to it. His letter to Peter Martyr is dated Geneva, 20th August, 1558 (*Zur.*, iii. 768-771). It is subscribed 'Your disciple, Chr. Goodman.' There is a letter extant (Jewel's *Works*, iv. 1192-3) from Jewel, dated at the house of Peter Martyr, Zurich, 1st June (1557?), to his 'dearest brothers in Christ Mr. Whittingham and Mr. Goodman at Geneva.' Christopher Goodman occurs in the *Livres des Anglois* in the archives of Geneva, with Whittingham, Knox, &c. On the list of those persons received and admitted into the English Church and congregation of Geneva, among those that came there 13th October, 1555, 'to use the benefit of the Church, then newly granted,' were Christopher Goodman, Wm. Whittingham, Anthony Gilby and his family, and others. On 1st November, 1555, when the church was erected, Goodman and Gilby were appointed 'to preach the word of God and mynster the Sacraments, in the absence of John Knox.' On 16th December, 1556, Knox and Goodman were appointed ministers, Gilby, Whittingham, Wm. Fuller, and another, 'seniors.' In 1557 and 1558, the same ministers were reappointed, Miles Coverdale being one of the

'seniors' in the latter year. Goodman's name occurs as godfather or witness to some of the children of the English colony. Wm. Whittingham was married there on the 15th November, 1556, to Katherine Jaquemayne of Orleaunce in France, he being in the register described as 'of Chester in England' (Burn's *History of Parish Registers*, p. 274). Goodman became acquainted at Geneva with a Scotch nobleman, the Earl of Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Charterhault, who having embraced the reformed faith in France, had to flee that country, and so had escaped to Geneva. On the 1st June, 1558, 'Chr. Goodman, son of William, an Englishman,' was gratuitously admitted a citizen (of Geneva) at his own request (Council-book at Geneva, quoted in *Zurich Letters*, iii. 768; Gorham, p. 418). There is another letter in the *Troubles of Frankfort*, addressed to the English congregations abroad, from the Church at Geneva, dated 15th December, 1558, urging the exiles to unite in religion and ceremonies; and it is signed by Goodman, Knox, Whittingham, Gilby, and others (Strype's *Annals*, II. i. 152).

"In 1558 two violent books by Knox and Goodman appeared from the Geneva press directed with set purpose against Queen Mary, the Regent of Scotland, and Mary, Queen of England. The maxims of these books were in very questionable taste, and the only extenuation that might be advanced on the part of their authors is that the latter had been exiled from their country by the prosecuting spirit of the Courts of these two Queens. Seldom did two such little books create so much excitement. Knox's book, called *The First Blast*, was a coarse attack on what he called 'the monstrous Regiment of Women'; and Goodman's, containing arguments to the same effect, shewed how superior powers might be disobeyed. The latter argued that it was lawful for one to kill his sovereign if he thought him a tyrant. The purport of the language of the two works was as unmistakable as the advice, on another occasion, when 'to the Lords of Convention 'twas

Claverhouse spoke, there are crowns to be won and heads to be broke!' Goodman's work is now a very scarce little volume. It was prefaced by Whittingham, who vouched for the divinity of it; and it had a rhyming epilogue by Keith, the author of the Old Hundredth in meter. The argument of Goodman's book was peculiarly dangerous at such a time. Its logical results were seen by Archbishop Parker, who speedily met with the book in London, where, as he tells Sir Nicholas Bacon on 1st March the same year, it was spread abroad with Knox's *Blast*. 'If such principles,' says he, 'be spread into men's heads as now they be framed, and referred to the judgment of the subject, of the tenant, and of the servant, to discuss what is tyranny, and to discern whether his Prince, his landlord, his master, is a tyrant, by his own fancy and collection supposed, what Lord of the Council shall ride quietly minded in the streets among desperate beasts? what master shall be sure in his bedchamber?' It was in chapter v. of his treatise that Goodman argued that the government of women was against nature and God's ordinances. Later on he commends Sir Thomas Wyat and his rising: 'O noble Wyat, thou art now with God and those worthy men that died for that enterprise! Happy art thou and they which are placed in your everlasting inheritance, and freed from the miserie of such as were your enimies in so juste and lawful a cause; who liue as yet patrones of idolaters, of theues and murtherers!' It is full of appeals to England, and abounds in *ad captandum* arguments, as where he refers to the horrible slaughter of *thousands* of martyrs. The writer gratefully recognises the comfort which the banished English found in Geneva and elsewhere.

"It was on the 17th November, 1558, that Queen Mary died, and unfortunately the two books remained to testify against her female successor—that masculine princess Elizabeth. She promptly issued her proclamation against books 'filled with heresy, sedition, and treason,' threatening

the possessors of them with execution by martial law. Amongst the Reformers themselves the book was not popular, for the Salic law had only recently been adopted. The French Churches were displeased with the books, and forbade their being exposed for sale. Beza was displeased with the tone of the books. Calvin was rebuffed by Queen Elizabeth for his supposed approval of them, and he explained by letter his relations to her Majesty, adding 'I shall always revere the most serene Queen.' Another exile, Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, issued a tract from Strasburg, in 1559, 'against the late blown blast,' lest 'all our side seem to bear with' Knox's views. Knox himself speedily found out that, as he says, 'my first-blown blast hath blown from me all my friends in England.' The Queen would not let him pass through England on his way home (April, 1559), and the two other blasts which he had intended to have blown were never sounded. He says in one sentence that struck me, 'Oh you English ladies, learne here rather to weare Roman hartes than Spanish knaks, rather to helpe your countrey then hinder your husbandes, to make your quene rych for your defense, then your husbands poore for your garish gainesse. If euery one of you would but employ your ringes and chaines, or the price of your superfluous ruffes, furres, fringes, and such like trinkettes, upon the necessary defense of your countrey, I think you shuld make the quene much richer and habler to mete with your enemies, and your selves much the honester, and readier to withstand satan, which this way goeth about to sift you. Leave of[f] your pride, and leave a good example, as the Roman ladies did, to your posteritie, of loue to your countrey, loyaltie to your quene, and honestie towards God and man.' A Popish writer, Fravin, satirised the books in an *Oration against Protestants*, made at Louvain in 1565; and that work contained the satiric woodcut against Knox and Goodman, of which there is a reproduction in Maitland, pp. 141-2, and in Knox's works, vol. iv. 362.

"Knox arrived in England 2nd May, 1559. Goodman, hardly daring to make his presence known, reveals something of his temper and character. In a letter from 'John Jewel to Peter Martyr, London, 28th April, 1559,' he says: 'I hear that Goodman is in this country, but so that he dare not show his face and appear in public. How much better would it have been to have been wise in time! If he will but acknowledge his error there will be no danger. But as he is a man of irritable temper, and too pertinacious in any thing that he has once undertaken, I am rather afraid that he will not yield.' (*Zurich Letters*, 1st ser., p. 21.) The Latin original is in Jewitt's *Letters*, iii. 1206. Goodman, meeting with so little encouragement in England, accompanied Knox's wife and family to Edinburgh, September, 1559; and, by the influence of his friends, he was made minister of Ayr, and remained there during the Scotch troubles. He gives us his own impressions of England as he found it after his five years' life among the exiles. We may conclude that he went to Scotland by way of Oxford and Chester (three days after the Queen Regent had been deposed). He thus writes to Sir William Cecill: 'Constrained by sundry injuries done him in his native country, he has been in Scotland six weeks, when he finds his services, which were rejected at home, everywhere desired and thankfully received. Fears there is not the like thirst for God's Word in England as in Scotland, and thinks it right to tell him of many things in England which wound the heart of the godly, as crosses and candles placed upon the Lord's table, and that in the Queen's chapel, Papists' apparel, pluralities, non-residents, lordly bishops, instead of necessary ministers; saints' days, the wafer-cake, &c. Is sure that God is highly displeased, and threateneth some sure plague to come.' (Thorpe's *Calendar, Scotland*, 1509-1603, vol. i., p. 119.) His opinion evidently was that the hierarchy of England was as corrupt as that of Rome. In the same letter he urged Cecil to abolish all the relics of superstition and idolatry, which, to the grief

and scandal of the godly, were still retained in England ; and (alluding probaby to Bonner and Gardiner) 'not to suffer the bloody bishops and known murderers of God's people and your dear brethren to live, upon whom God hath expressly pronounced the sentence of death, for the execution of which he hath committed the sword into your hands, who are now placed in authority.' It was this delay, he declared, this leniency in Cecil (who was happily not animated by the same fiery spirit of persecution which guided the proceedings of Goodman) 'that sticketh most in the hearts of many.' At Scotland he settled, by the influence of his friends, from 1559 to 1565, becoming minister of Ayr in 1559, and subsequently minister of St. Andrew's, nominated by the Lords of the congregation, 19 July, 1560 ; a member of the first General Assembly, 19 December, 1560 ; June, 1562 ; June and December, 1563 ; June and December, 1564 ; and June, 1565. Thomas Randall, or Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's agent in Scotland, who had become acquainted with the Earl of Arran at Geneva, writes to Sir R. Sadler and Sir James Croft, 22nd October, 1559, 'For matters of religion [Alex. Gordon], the bishopp of Galloway, Knox, Mr. Goodman, of England, for whose name it may please you to use this (a cipher), for that I shall have occasion to write of him. Therle of Arran brought him to me, and spake of him verie much in the name of the lords of the congregation, tending to this effect, that the quene's majestie should not be offended with the favor that he shall receyve here. He himselfe is readie to doo what service he can. The fourthe in this matier is Ullock. Thies 3 last preached before the lords of the congregation in Edinburgh, and so continew from daye to daye exhorting the peple to folowe the doctrine of Christ, and to seke amitie with such as arre most faithfull' (*Sadler's State Papers*, ii. 48-9).

" Secretary Cecil, writing to Sir R. Sadler and Sir James Croft, from the Court, 31st October, 1559, says:—'I assure

you, I feare much the lack of the *Protestants*. I meane not onely in substance of power, but also of understanding. Of all others Knoxes name, if it be not Goodman's, is most odiose here; and therefore I wish no mention of hym hither' (*Sadler*, ii. 70). John Jewel to Peter Martyr, London, 1st December, 1559:—'The Scots have in their camp the preachers Knox and Goodman, and they call themselves the congregation of Christ? Their next step was to send to the Queen to retire from Leith if she could not be driven from there by force and violence. And from this time they began to treat about an alliance with England' (*ibid.*, p. 60). Vol. v., No. 16, Thomas Randolph to Sir William Cecil:—'Proceedings of the Bishop of Athens [*i.e.*, Alex. Gordon], Mr. Wyllok, Knox and Goodman. . . . Places appointed for Knox, Wyllok and Goodman to preach at' (*ibid.*, i. p. 161). In 1560, after the wars and troubles in Scotland were over and religion established there, Goodman was appointed to be preacher at St. Andrews, when John Knox was appointed at Edinburgh, having returned during those commotions to Ayr (*Annals*, i. 187). Knox's *Hist. Refer.*, ii. 87: 'And suo was Johne Knox appointit to Edinburgh; Christopher Gudman, (quha the maist pairtit of the trubillis had remanit in Ayre), was appointit to Sanctandrois' (see *Tytler*, iii. 126). In Gorham's *Reformation Gleanings*, p. 418, we have the translation of a letter from Calvin to Goodman, dated Geneva, 23rd April, 1561. Calvin acknowledges the receipt of a letter from Goodman, and refers to a long previous silence between them. We may infer that Goodman had hinted at a return to England. Then is mention made of the death of John Knox's (first) wife: 'I rejoice that he has not been so afflicted by her death as to relax his strenuous exertions for Christ and his Church. It is no common solace that he has you for his faithful and very suitable adjutor. I do not see how you can desert that Province [Scotland] in such destitution. . . . You ought in my judgment to go on with your work.' In the

well-known interview between Knox and Mary, the youthful Queen of Scots, brought about by the wish of the latter, she rallied Knox on his book on the government of women. Knox told her that he had in view most especially 'that wicked Jezebel of England, Mary Tudor'; and was not inclined to continue that subject. She advised him to treat with greater charity those who differed from him in opinion. The real topic they fell to discussing was this little work.

"Meantime, in 1562, Whittingham was made Dean of Durham, whence 'he encouraged Knox and Goodman in setting up Presbytery and sedition in the land of Scotland.' In vol. vii., No. 45, Randolph to Cecil:—'The Queen of Scots' desire for a perpetual amity between the two countries. . . . Earl of Mar's desire to bring Mr. Goodman with him into England if the interview take place' (*ibid.*, i. 181). Another in vol. vii. 70, Randolph to Cecil:—'Intended journey of Mr. Knox and Mr. Goodman to visit the churches' (*ibid.*, i. 183). 74, same to same:—'Earnest and vehement preaching, Mr. Knox and Mr. Goodman' (*ibid.*, i. 184). In 1563 his name occurs in the debates of the General Assembly, when Goodman seems to have given an opinion on some point under discussion, and Knox tells us 'thairto he ressavit this check for ansure, *Ne sit peregrinus in aliena Republica.*' Knox records Goodman's rejoinder: 'Albeit I be ane strainger in your pollicey, yit so am I not in the kirk of God; and therefoir the cair thereof does no less appertane to me in Scotland than gif I wer in the myddis of Ingland.' Vol. xi., No. 100, the Earl of Murray to Sir William Cecil:—'Requests his recommendation to the Archbishop of York (Thos. Young) for Mr. Goodman, that he may have licence to preach within his Grace's jurisdiction' (*ibid.*, i. 226). There is one more reference in this Calendar, but it is a misprint and I cannot trace it.

"He afterwards was in England; and when Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy of Ireland, went against the Popish

rebels, he acquired the friendship of Sir Henry Sidney and the Earl of Leicester. I have mentioned his appointment as Archdeacon of Richmond. He was also, in his own county, rector of Alford—dates not given by *Ormerod*, ii. 760—but Samuel Lloyd, without date, named as his successor. *Ormerod* says that he was displaced for non-conformity by Bp. Vaughan (i. 117). The date of deprivation is 1597. These appointments, whenever they occurred, imply that Goodman had recanted his more obnoxious opinions. In the year 1571 the Queen was pressing for order and uniformity in the Church, because there were many persons enjoying benefices and places of profit in the Church, and yet did not live in obedience to its rules and injunctions. In this number were Goodman, Whittingham, Lever, and Gilby. Goodman's protestation of his obedience to the Queen took place at 'Lambhith' 23 and 26 April, 1571, before the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates. An ecclesiastical commission was appointed the same year (*Strype's Annals*, II. i. 140-1); and Goodman and his old associates were summoned before it. They were under the examination of Archbishop Parker in the beginning of June. 'What was done with them,' says *Strype*, 'I find not; but that Lever, this year, resigned a prebend, which I think he had in the church of Durham. And Goodman remained in town till August. . . . Goodman was, by the commissioners, demanded to subscribe to a revocation of those articles (in his book); which he yet would not; but desired to go home (viz., to Chester), which they would not permit hitherto' (*Parker's Strype*, ii. 66-67; *Parker Corresp.* [Parker Soc.], p. 381). See *Strype's Annals*, I. i. 184-185, where it is said that Goodman's recantation was made either before the Queen's Privy Council, or her bishops of the Ecclesiastical Commission. There is a copy of the 'recantation of his statements respecting the unlawfulness of women's rule, the right of subjects to banish their rulers, &c.', in the Baker MSS., v. 441. Another copy of this, or a similar

revocation, is in the Petyt MSS., Inner Temple, described in *II. Rept. Hist. MSS. Com.*, p. 153b. One of the documents in these MSS. is an address to Queen Elizabeth for having written this book; another is a letter addressed to 'your good Lordships,' expressing contrition for things written in the book (see Strype's *Annals*, I. i. 184).

"Having surmounted the obstacles in his way in the southern province, Goodman had yet to meet the heads of the northern province. Grindal, Archbishop of York, writing to Archbishop Parker, mentions some persons whom he had summoned before him, including Whittingham and Goodman, who were under his jurisdiction. The letter is dated from Cawood, 28th Aug., 1571. 'I would gladly see Mr. Goodman's book. I never saw it but once, beyond seas; and then I thought, when I read it, that his arguments were never concludent, but always I found more in the conclusion than in the premises. These articles that your grace hath gathered out of it are very dangerous, and tend to sedition' (*ibid.*; also Parker's *Strype*, ii. 67). Thos. Marbury, of Christ's Coll., Cambridge, in his will proved December, 1571, appoints 'his father-in-law, Mr. Christopher Goodman,' one of his supervisors. Dr. John Aylmer, Bishop of London, writing to Sir Christopher Hatton, says,—'Sir,—I have been an importunate suitor to my Lord of Leicester and you in the behalf of Mr. Doctor Chadderton for his preferment to the Bishoprick of Chester; not so much for my affection to the man, as for the good I know he might do in the Church of God, both for his singular learning as also in respect of his zeal to bridle disordered persons. It may please you therefore at my request to help to dispatch the poor man, and send a governor to that place; which I fear, as an unruly family without a steward, will, by this long delay that hath happened, be hardly drawn to good order. There is in that country one Goodman, who wrote against the government of women, a man not unknown to her majesty; who in this vacation, I doubt will build one way more than the

Bishop shall a good while be able to pull down in that kind of curiosity; I pray God bless you and make you happy in His grace, and in all other prosperity.—From Fulham, the 29th April, 1578. Your honour's most assured to command in Christ,—JOHN LONDON.'

"The subsequent notices of Goodman are few in number. In the records of the corporation of Chester there are some letters dated early in 1581, detailing a scene in one of the churches, where Mr. Aston, son-in-law of Mr. Edward Stanley, of Ewlow, co. Flint, made some unseemly speeches on St. Stephen's Day against Mr. Goodman 'the preacher'; describing also the subsequent violence and misbehaviour of Mr. Aston's mother-in-law, Mrs. Stanley of Ewlow, described as 'in kine vnto our good Lord therle of Derby.' However, a letter, dated 14th February, the same year, announced that apologies and submission had been made to Mr. Goodman, the Mayor, and others; and it is said of the lady that she was ready to conform 'both in going to the church, hearing of divine service and sermon, and in communicating according as a good Christian ought to do.' In 1580 Christopher Goodman was presented with the freedom of this city. There is a letter addressed from Thomas Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, and dated London, 21st November, 1580, in which he desires that 'Mr. Chr. Goodman may be permitted to visit Scotland, where he hath left great testimony of his true service in Christ's church, and wishes to confirm the same with a few sermons before God takes him out of this world. On the 2nd May, 1582, he appears at Chester in an action, Chr. Goodman, dean of Chester, and others, in which it appears they are unable to settle the dispute between the retailers and mere-merchants of Chester. State of the controversy. They are hopeless of bringing the parties to any agreement. In February, 1579, appears a petition by the mere-merchants of Chester to Walsyngham, That the retailers may be restrained from trading to Spain and Portugal as merchants, or else the

mere-merchants may be licensed to deal as retailers. Henry Hardware of the city of Chester, alderman, bequeathed 2nd May, 1582, 'my fyne mourning cloth gowne unto good Mr. Christopher Goodman, the w'ch I pray him to wear for my sake.' I find him in Cheshire—anno 1584—(Chadderton then being Bishop) as a refuser of subscription to the Articles, and a dissuader of others thereto; of whom Archbishop Whitgift complained unto the Lord Treasurer that it was Mr. Goodman—a man that for his perverseness was sufficiently known—and some other evil-disposed persons that instilled these things into men's heads; that is, objections against subscribing to all the Articles of religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer. When Archbishop Whitgift was pressing subscription to the three Articles—which made great heats about this time—Goodman wrote to a certain lord (the Earl of Leicester, I suppose), that the Papists in Cheshire and elsewhere rejoiced at these proceedings of the Archbishop. This the Lord Treasurer communicated to the Archbishop, whose answer was this: 'Goodman was a man for his perverseness sufficiently known, and some other ill-disposed Christians, who instilled these things into his Lordship's head.' In December, 1583, there was a fire at Nantwich, and on March 15th, 1583-84, the mayor and Goodman received subscriptions; and on the 13th November, 1585, there is a brief declaration of the amount of money collected in the several counties throughout the realm for the re-edifying of the town of 'Namptwich,' co. Chester, delivered into the hands of Thomas Aldersey and Tho. Brasse, merchants of London, and to the mayor of Chester, and Mr. Goodman the preacher; including the Queen's most liberal gift of £1,000—amounting in the whole to the sum of £3,224. 6s. 9½d.

"Edward Fleetwood, rector of Wigan, writing from Wigan, 7th September, 1587, to the Lord Treasurer, says: 'Concerning my proceedings with the Commission Ecclesiastical I have, according to your honour's discretion,

wholly possessed Mr. Solicitor therewith; and he further required of me and Mr. Goodman a full advertisement of our manifold enormities, which, by mutual conference with all my brethren, I have readily furnished; and against the next week to attend the Bishop and Mr. Solicitor by their appointment. I fear nothing therein, but my Lord of Derby—his discontinuance, lest it breed some inconvenient delays.' In December, 1589, Mr. Goodman appears to have been at dinner at Lord Derby's at New Park. In Robert Parson's *Dolefull Knell of Thomas Bell* (printed at Rome, 1607, 8vo), discussing a safe-conduct which Bell had offered in his *Fresh Larum* for a discussion, he asks:— 'Hath Bel forgotten (being one of the two ready to dispute for the catholike partie), or doth he suppose others remember not, how Goodman of Chester—that old syncantor with his three companions (Hutchins, Bordman, Rogers), vndertook a solemn disputation at Aughton in Lancashire, shewing him selfe most resolut in defence of the Gospel, with al protestation of sincere proceeding. The daie being com, and this Caluinian consort expected at the place appointed, they sent word vnto therire opposirs, to repaire vnto them at Lyrpole, not far off, where they were attending them, as a place more commodious: as it was in dede for theire purpōe: for whereas Goodman like a sincere Gospeller of Geneva, for lacke of better arguments, had furnished him selfe with a commission, to apprehende his aduersaries: after warde vpon som controversie that fell out betwixt him and the Ordinarie pursuant, for taking his office out of his hands, it was thought more conuenient to commit the matter to the Mayor of Lyrpole, who was to surprize both the Priests & also the ministers, the better to cloake their own treacherie: whereof a gentleman of good-note and worshippe, M. Holecraft of Cheshire hauing intelligence, who of zeal to the truthe being him selfe a forward Protestant, had procured the meeting, ashamed of his ministers' dealing, and condemning them for such as they were, gave notice for the escaping of that perfidious pitfal. Whether

this be true or no, I appeale to no other than Bel's own conscience, if it be not deade of a Geneva consumption. Not longe since also the like pranke, or not much different, was plaide in Oxfordshire. But God's name be blessed : the Catholicke faith gaineth glorie by such theire disgracious dealing, and Calvinism groweth odious and loseth of her followers.'

"An extract from the 'Chester Assembly Book,' 35th Elizabeth [1592], John Fitton, mayor, reads thus: 'Also at the same assemblie a l're from the gent and others the inhabitants of the parish of ffarneworth in the countie of lanc'r for the admittans of one Robert Hitchmow to be the schole m'r of the free grammer schole there, was Red and considered of Wherevpon It is now fully Agreed by this Assembly, in that by the said l're, as also by the reporte of *m'r Xpofer Goodman, professor of devinitie*, he the same Robt. Hitchmow is comended to be of honest convu'sac'on, & sufficient and meete for that p'pose, both in his Lyvinge, lerninge and educac'on. That he the same Robt. Hitchmow shalbe schole m'r of the said schole, and the rather at their requests is now no'iated and appointed by the Maior and citizens of this Citie to be scholem'r thereof, and haue the yerely wag's appointed for the schole m'r there Accordinge to the fundac'on And now agreed also that this his no'iation & Admittans shall passe vnd'r the Seale of the said Citie, he painge the ordenary ffees thereof.'

"The last notice of Goodman I have, is of his lingering for a long time on a sick bed, and receiving visits of his friends at his house. When he lay on his death-bed, it is said, early in the following century, he was visited by that famous man—that man of great learning—Archbishop Ussher. 'As he came [to England] he visited *Mr. Christopher Goodman*, who had been Professor of Divinity in *Oxford*, in *Edward the Sixth's dayes*, then lying on his death-bed at *Chester*, he would be often repeating some grave, wise speeches he heard from him' (Dr. M'c. Barnard's *Life and Death of Abp. Ussher*, 1656, 8vo, p. 42). His will

can yet be seen in the Probate Office here. It is dated 22nd February, 1602-3, with a codicil dated 25th April, 1603, when he would be over eighty years of age, thus having lived to see the son of Mary Queen of Scots come to the throne. He calls himself the unworthy servant of God and minister of His holy word. He wishes to be buried by his wife's corpse in St. Bridget's Church, Chester. He forgets not the poor of the parish; and he leaves £25 to the Corporation to make a fund to provide corn 'to keep down the market and relieve the poor in times of scarcity.' Two young students—one at Oxford, the other at Dublin—share his posthumous bounty. A daughter Catherine is named—the wife of Mr. George Gale, of Tiverton. To his cousin, Mrs. Ellin Fitton, he leaves a great chest with a lock and key, and a little table, 'which my wife's mind was she should have.' To the same lady's husband his copy of *The Book of Martyrs*. Thomas Robinson was to have his '*Musculus upon the Comon Plases*.' His library, made up mostly, as he says, of divinity, he leaves to the order and discretion of his brother John Goodman and his cousin William Aldersey, who were his executors. The codicil bequeathes £50 towards the relief of the distressed citizens of Geneva, 'whereof I am a member;' and to the four maids 'who watche with me,' viz., in his illness, ten shillings apiece. Mr. William Harrison was to have ten shillings to preach his funeral sermon.

"In the transcripts of the registers of St. Bridget's parish, Chester, I find the two entries following: 'Mary Goodman buried 20th June, 1600.' '1603[-4]. Jany. 6th, Christoferus Goodman, Archidiaconus Richmondiæ, celebris verbi regni celestis p'dicator matura ætate naturæ cessit atque hodi hac obi [or ? p'clvbi] quondam baptizatus sepultus fuit.' There is no note of his burial in the Cathedral or St. Oswald's registers, and in the face of the record at St. Bridget's, the claim that he was laid in the Cathedral must be abandoned."

Some discussion, raised by Mr. Morris, ensued as to from

which family of the Goodman's the subject of the paper was descended, there being three families of the name, and Mr. Bailey seemed to be unable to supply a satisfactory answer.

Mr. Hughes said one feature in connection with Goodman appeared to have been overlooked by the lecturer, namely, that he was the first to bring to the city of Chester a supply of drinkable water, by means of pipes, to a tank or reservoir, which existed in the small shop of the lower end of Eastgate Row, by the Cross. In the year 1832, or 1833, there existed a tank, which was said to have been erected under the instructions of Christopher Goodman, and his (the speaker's) father could well remember, when a boy, seeing large pipes made of whole trees—and not lead or other material—taken up from thence, which it was considered had to do with the supply in question. His father said he remembered the tank, if he was not actually in it. Mr. Hughes also pointed out that a family named Goodman lived at Ruthin, which had produced a clergyman of eminence in the Church, who became Bishop of Gloucester. Also among the objects of local antiquarian interest in Chester, there exists in the small museum of the Water Tower a chair, supposed originally to have been the property of Bishop Goodman.

Dean Howson in expressing the gratitude of the meeting to Mr. Bailey for his most excellent paper, said he thought it would lead them to see how much value and interest attached to the King's School, for which many of them had been making some exertions during the last few years. It was extremely interesting to them to note how the history of such an institution intersected with the history of the country; and these points of intersection could only be understood by biographical researches, such as that which had been brought before them. They ought not to forget the fact of such a King's School boy as Goodman, becoming professor of divinity at the University of Oxford; it was a fact of which they might be proud, whether they agreed

with Goodman's sentiments on kings, queens, and women or not.

THE ROMAN ALTAR FOUND AT CHESTER IN 1648.

The Chairman read the following letters:—

“Sir,—The description of a Roman altar found at Chester in 1648 (or 1653), given by Mr. A. T. Bannister,¹ is in the main correct, but there are one or two serious epigraphical errors in it. The abbreviation GALER. in the second line, which Mr. Bannister expands *Galerius*, as one of the names of the dedicatory, should be *Galeria*, and is the name of the tribe to which Titus Elupius *Præsens* belonged. It is in the usual position, the *tribus* being placed between the *nomen* and *cognomen* in inscriptions. Again, the word at the end of the third line is unmistakably *GVNTIA*, and is the name of the town which was the birthplace of *Præsens*, *Guntia* in *Vindelicia*, as correctly stated by Mr. Wright. The fact of the legion having been in Britain over one hundred years would not, as Mr. Bannister states, either render it impossible or improbable that *Præsens* was born at *Guntia*—in fact, the reverse—for the legions were continually recruited from the continent. *Guntia* is also in the proper position in the inscription (following the *cognomen*) for the name of the birthplace. With regard to *PRI.* in the fourth line, it is certainly not the abbreviation of *Primipilus*, but of *Princeps*. If it had been the former word that was intended, the abbreviation would have been *PP.* or *PRI.PRI.* Dr. McCaul (*Brit. Rom. Inscr.*, p. 5) and Professor Hübner, of Berlin (*Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii. No. 168), both expand *PRI.* as *Princeps* in this particular inscription. The latter also objects to *ELVPIVS* in the second line, on the ground that there is no authority for such a name in Roman epigraphy. He considers that it is a misreading of *FLAVIVS*. The derivation of *Tanarus* is still a matter of uncertainty. Mr. Roach

¹ See pp. 132-136.

Smith considers it taken from the river named *Tanarus*, in the north of Italy. Mr. Bannister's statement that the Twentieth Legion came to Britain about the year 68 A.D. is particularly erroneous. This legion accompanied Aulus Plautius to our shores in A.D. 43. When Suetonius Paulinus defeated Boadicea in A.D. 61, its vexillarii were engaged in the battle, and it was commanded at that time by the celebrated Agricola, afterwards proprætor of Britain. In the inscription on the coin found at the Talargoch Lead Mine (see pp. 137), the letters TR P. (or as they are given T.R.P.) are expanded as T(ribunus) R(omani) P(opuli). They should be taken in connection with the numerals following them, and read as TR(IVBNITIA) P(OTESTAS) IIII. '(exercising) the Tribunitian power for the fourth time.'—I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

"W. THOMPSON WATKIN."

P.S.—"Dion Cassius, speaking of the legions, questions whether there were two Twentieth Legions before his time, which he seems to think very doubtful; but he expressly informs us that the one then serving in Britain bore the title, *Valeria Victrix*, which has now been generally adopted. The expansion of these words, however, is not 'the Valiant and Victorious,' but 'the Valerian and Victorious.' Again, the letters V S L M do not mean 'performs his vow willingly and dutifully.' That would do for V S L L (*i.e.*, *Votum solvit Laetus Libens*); but we have in this instance only the usual *formula*. Mr. Bannister overlooks the meaning of *Merito*, 'to a deserving object'—the whole reading, 'performs his vow willingly to a deserving object.'

Mr. Bannister replied as follows: "I must first venture to enter a protest against the tone of Mr. Watkin's letter, which, as I think I shall show, contains additions to, rather than corrections of, my paper read at the last meeting of this Society. When a subject is uncertain, and there are several conjectural interpretations, it seems hardly fair to pronounce *ex cathedra* in favour of one particular interpre-

tation, and affirm the others to be 'serious errors.' Surely even Mr. Watkin's reputation as a distinguished antiquary does not necessarily make that interpretation of a difficult passage to which he inclines indisputably correct. So much for the general tone of Mr. Watkin's letter. I will now consider his remarks in detail. First as to the real name of the dedicatory of the altar. Mr. Watkin, on the authority of Hübner, would read, "T. Flavius Galeriā (tribu) Præsens Guntiā," (*i.e.*, Titus Flavius Præsens, of the Galerian tribe, from Guntia in Vindelicia). Now, I do not wish for a moment to deny that this is a possible interpretation; but I do emphatically deny that it is the *only* possible interpretation; and I will give the reason for my rejection of it. A Roman had usually three names, the nomen (which always ended in *ius*) or Gentile name, marking the gens or family to which he belonged, the cognomen, marking the branch of that family, and the prænomen (what we should call the Christian name). Thus the name Caius Julius Cæsar tells us that the individual Caius belongs to the Cæsarean branch of the great gens Julia. Additional names (*agnomina*) were always placed *after* the cognomen. The insertion of the *tribus* between the nomen and the cognomen would be anomalous, though, in face of several inscriptions, I will not deny its possibility. Still, I do not by any means feel compelled to accept it. When I first saw the inscription it struck me that T. Elupius Galer exactly answered to the form described above, and I should have so rendered it had I not been overawed by the imposing array of learned men who interpret it Galerius. Greenhalgh (the original describer of the altar), Selden (whom Mr. Watkin will allow to be no mean authority), Gough (the editor of Camden), Prideaux, and Wright, all read 'Galerius,' and I hardly think it a serious error to have followed them. As to Hübner's conjecture of 'Flavius' for 'Elupius,' it may, or it may not, be admissible, but at any rate, I could not have been wrong in applying the canon 'Præstet difficilior lectio.'

Of course, the interpretation of 'Guntâ' depends on our interpretation of the name. If we make *Præsens Titus' cognomen* (I am compelled to call him Titus, since that is the only word about which there is no dispute) we must read *Guntia* with Hübner and Professor Ward; if not, we may, with Prideaux and Gale (*Antonini Iter Brit. Comm.*, p. 53) read *Præses Guinethæ*, or, with Selden, we may give it up. But in the face of these three latter antiquaries we can hardly say that it is '*unmistakably Guntiâ*.' Professor Ward himself (the author of the '*Guntiâ*' hypothesis) quotes (in some MS. notes on Horsley in the Bodleian Library) several inscriptions (e.g., *Grüter Corpus*, p. 1063) having the words '*Præses Galliæ*'; so why not also '*Præses Guinethæ*'?

"With regard to *PRI.*, Mr. Thompson Watkin is somewhat unfair in quoting Dr. McCaul as an authority for rejecting '*Primipilus*,' and reading '*Princeps*.' Dr. McCaul really says: 'I think it uncertain whether we should regard it as standing for "*Primipilus*" or "*Princeps*," of the two I prefer the latter.' Prideaux, Gough, and Greenhalgh all read *Primipilus*; while Horsley says *Primipilus* is the usual rendering, though he himself would prefer to read *Præ* for *Præfectus*. Selden apparently approves of Dr. Langbaine's '*Principibus*' Considering all this, Mr. Watkin surely goes too far in saying that '*PRI.* is *certainly not* the abbreviation of *Primipilus*, but of *Princeps*.' The derivation of '*Tanarus*,' as Mr. Watkin says, is still (and probably ever will be) a matter of uncertainty; but all the evidence is in favour of the interpretation which I gave. With regard to the date of the arrival in Britain of the Twentieth Legion, I must plead guilty to a mistake; though I would say in extenuation that I followed Prideaux and Camden. (Gough in his edition of the *Britannia* corrects Camden's mistake.) I have now touched on all the questions raised by Mr. Watkin. I must apologise for this lengthy defence; but I was naturally anxious to disprove the charge implicitly contained in Mr. Watkin's letter of having rashly thrust

upon your Society a paper containing 'serious errors,' and I trust I have succeeded. At any rate, I have shown that if I have erred, I have erred in good company."

Monday, 26th February, 1883.

The third meeting of the session 1882-3 was held at the Albion Rooms, Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 26th February, 1883, at eight o'clock.

Mr. Robert Holland, of Frodsham, read a paper on "Old Sayings, Customs, and Superstitions of a Cheshire Farm."¹

The Very Rev. Dean Howson made a short communication on Palm Leaves as used for writing.

Mr. J. D. Siddall exhibited a Roman vessel of clay found in the River Trent, on which the Dean made a few remarks.

Special Meeting, Wednesday, March 7th, 1883.

At a meeting of gentlemen interested in reviving the work of the Chester Archæological Society, held at the Deanery, Abbey Square, on Wednesday, March 7th, 1883, at one p.m., the Very Rev. the Dean (Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D.) in the chair, there were present His Grace the Duke of Westminster, K.G.; Dr. Davies-Colley, Dr. Stolterfoth, Mr. Frederick Potts, Mr. Ewen, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. E. J. Baillie, Mr. J. D. Siddall, Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, Mr. George Frater, and Mr. T. Cann Hughes.

Letters were read from Colonel Humberstone and Mr. Arthur Potts, regretting their inability to be present.

¹ The more important of the old sayings, customs, &c., described in this paper will be found referred to in Mr. Holland's *Cheshire Glossary*, recently printed by the Dialect Society. His paper, as read to the Society, will be found in the *Cheshire Observer* of the same week.

The Dean stated the position of the Society under five heads:—

- (a) The Accounts.
- (b) The Subscription.
- (c) The *Journal*.
- (d) The Reconstitution of the Council.
- (e) The State of the New Museum Scheme.

On the motion of the Dean, seconded by Mr. Frederick Potts, it was ordered—

That the accounts presented by the Secretary be audited by the Society's Auditor (Mr. Henry Watson Jones), and that £60 be paid at once to Mr. Hughes, in part discharge of the Society's debt to him.

That the new part of the Proceedings be pushed forward without delay, as a single part, and be issued to members as soon as practicable.

That after the publication of part xii. of the Society's *Journal* (under the joint editorship of the Dean and Mr. Hughes), the Collector be sent round to collect the annual subscriptions for 1883.

On the motion of Dr. Davies-Colley, seconded by Mr. Ewen, it was resolved—

That the officers of the Society be appointed as follows, viz.:—

<i>General Secretary</i>	-	MR. W. WYNNE FFOULKES, M.A.
<i>Archaeological Secretary</i>	-	MR. THOMAS HUGHES, F.S.A.
<i>Historic Secretary</i>	-	MR. HENRY TAYLOR.
<i>Financial Secretary</i>	-	MR. GEORGE FRATER.
<i>Honorary Curator</i>	-	MR. G. W. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S.
<i>Assistant Hon. Curator</i>	-	MR. FRANK H. WILLIAMS.
<i>Honorary Librarian</i>	-	MR. T. CANN HUGHES.
<i>Assistant Hon. Librarian</i>	-	MR. JOHN HEWITT.
<i>Council</i>	-	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="flex-grow: 1; text-align: right; margin-right: 10px;"> <i>REV. CANON GLEDDOWE, M.A.</i> <i>REV. S. COOPER SCOTT, M.A.</i> <i>REV. C. B. GRIFFITH, M.A.</i> <i>REV. H. GRANTHAM.</i> <i>DR. STOLTERFOTH.</i> <i>MR. E. J. BAILLIE.</i> </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> () </div> </div>

All the officials being full members of the Society.

On the motion of Mr. T. Cann Hughes, seconded by Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, resolved: That the name of Mr. I. E. Ewen be added to those forming the new Council.

On the motion of his Grace the Duke of Westminster, seconded by the Dean of Chester, it was resolved unanimously—

1. That Mr. Baillie be asked to call a meeting of the Museum Committee, to meet at the Deanery, on Saturday week, at one p.m.

2. That Mr. William Williams be requested to be present, and to state his position relative to the Grosvenor Street site.

3. That the Dean, Dr. Stolterfoth, Mr. Ewen, Mr. Wynne ffoulkes, and Mr. Thomas Cann Hughes be authorised to represent the Archæological Society on the joint Committee.

On the motion of the Dean, seconded by Mr. Ewen, it was resolved—

That a vote of thanks be presented to the Duke of Westminster for his presence at this meeting.

(Signed) J. S. HOWSON, *Chairman.*

Monday, 9th April, 1883.

The fourth meeting of the session 1882-3 was held in the Old Albion Rooms, Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 9th April, 1883, at eight o'clock.

The Rev. Matthew Henry Lee, M.A., vicar of Hanmer, Flintshire, read a paper entitled "Philip and Matthew Henry: their Lives and Times, considered specially in relation to Cheshire and its Borders."¹

A few original letters and other MSS. of interest in the

¹ Mr. Lee published in 1882, *Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, M.A., of Broad Oak, Flintshire, 1631-1696*, which should be referred to by every one interested in the subject of the above paper read to the Society. Mr. Lee's paper read to the Society was afterwards printed as a small pamphlet.

handwriting of the Philip and Matthew Henry, together with their portraits, some of their printed works, &c., were exhibited.

Mr. G. W. Shrubsole exhibited a number of Roman antiquities from his private collection, including some recently acquired.

Monday, 29th October, 1883.

The annual general meeting of the Society was held at the Society's Rooms, Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 29th October, 1883, at which the officers of the Society for the ensuing session were elected, the audited accounts passed, and other formal business transacted.





SESSION 1883-4.

Monday, 12th November, 1883.

THE opening meeting of the session 1883-4 was held at the Albion Rooms, Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 12th November, 1883, at eight o'clock, His Grace the Duke of Westminster, K.G., presiding.

The Very Rev. Dean Howson delivered a lecture on "The Footprints of the Twentieth Roman Legion," and exhibited several objects illustrative of his lecture.

A Roman water-bottle, discovered in Little St. John Street, and a few recently acquired Roman antiquities of local interest were exhibited.

**THE FOOTPRINTS OF THE TWENTIETH ROMAN LEGION,
BY THE VERY REV. J. S. HOWSON, D.D., DEAN OF
CHESTER.¹**

"This paper on the Twentieth Roman Legion comes before your friendly notice with two purposes in view. It represents the beginning of the new winter session of our Archæological Society, and it is meant to assert the importance of the special Roman interest which belongs to the

¹ Owing to the death of Dean Howson, this paper has not had the benefit of his supervision and correction.

antiquities of Chester. We are all aware, in a general way, of the importance of the prolonged Roman occupation of this position on the Dee. But this subject has never received the attention it deserves, nor have we ever been fully aware of the value of the Roman antiquities which we possess. We have recently received some encouragement in this direction from a visit of two eminent archæologists from Newcastle-on-Tyne—Dr. Collingwood Bruce and Dr. Hodgkin—the latter of whom has since read a paper before the Newcastle Archæological Society, speaking strongly of the treasures we possess in memorials of the Roman time. All this points to the extreme importance of the antiquarian aspect of the Museum, which is soon to be erected in this city. The claims of natural science are certainly very great; but the claims of human history are, in my opinion, greater still. And here I cannot help referring to a humiliating sentence in that part of the collection of Roman inscriptions in Britain which has been put together by the distinguished German scholar, Hübner, where he describes his visit to Chester. He says there that this was the only town of equal size and importance in England which he found destitute of a local museum!

"In this communication I shall limit myself strictly to the military aspect, and indeed to the legionary aspect of Roman antiquities. The separate study of a single Legion is well worthy of patient perseverance, and it furnishes an excellent starting point for the study of a great deal of general history. We may illustrate this by the separate interest of each one of our own regiments; for a regiment is, so to speak, a commonwealth, it is very conscious of itself, it has a continuous history and a reputation to maintain. So it was with each Roman Legion. The very names of our English regiments, 'The Connaught Rangers' for instance, 'The King's Own,' 'The Black Watch,' have a very animated meaning of their own. So have the names of the three great Roman Legions connected with the northern parts of England. The sixth, quartered at

York, was called *Victrix*; the second, quartered at Lincoln, was called *Augusta*; while our famous Legion was called *Valeria Victrix*. We are all familiar, I hope, with the *VV* which appears after the *XX* in our local monuments. Once more the badges, both of our own regiments and the Roman, possess a lively interest. In the case of the Roman Legions quartered in Great Britain, the goat and a Pegasus formed the badge of the Second Legion. The Twentieth had for its badge a wild boar; and often it appears delineated with great emphasis,—sometimes with a spear driven through it, as in the antefixes of the roof tiles, found in Chester—sometimes with representations of trees, against which the boar is rushing, to indicate the victory of Roman soldiers over the difficulties of nature, as well as other difficulties. In this comparison, however, of the Roman Legion with the English Regiment—a comparison which, so far as I have used it, is correct—we must beware of a mistake, which would be serious. There is a very great disparity of numbers between the two cases. We know what is meant by an English regiment, and the maximum force to which it amounts, even if it contains two or three battalions. The complement of a Roman Legion was six thousand men with a body of three hundred cavalry attached, and attached to it also was a body of six thousand auxiliaries. Thus when we speak of the Twentieth Legion as quartered here in Chester during three hundred and fifty years, we mean a standing army of from ten thousand to fifteen thousand men, which implies likewise a large number of other persons connected with the commissariat, and other requirements of these troops. The mere statement of this fact is enough to show that the history of such an organised body of men must have had important results on some parts of the general history of this county. There is a collateral subject, which ought to be mentioned by the way, because it is necessary to complete our view of the occupation of our country by Roman troops. Besides the Legionary soldiers, detached

Cohorts, not belonging to any Legion, were employed on service in various parts of the empire. Thus we read in the Acts of the Apostles of the Italic Cohort and the Augustan Cohort, in connection with the life of St. Paul. Such was the case, I apprehend, more or less, in the neighbourhood of the Dee. The best illustration I can give of the meaning of this part of our subject is one which came before me on a recent visit to the Roman wall. We know from the 'Notitia,' which is a kind of directory of the Roman Empire, that along that wall were quartered side by side, Asturians, Tungrians, and Batavians, and we find inscriptions confirming this fact. Now, if we realise the fact, and remember that these various bodies of troops spoke different languages, we begin to see an extraordinary network of policy, as well as an extraordinary proof of military strength. In connection with this collateral topic is another topic full of very curious interest. When I was at the spot where the Asturians were quartered on the Roman wall, there was pointed out to me in the interstices of the masonry a wild flower which it is said that these troops brought with them from Northern Spain. I must confess I doubt the correctness of this as a botanical fact. But the circumstance opens out a view of results, which must certainly have attended the occupation of the Roman Army, namely, the introduction of changes in the horticulture and agriculture of this country. Camden, the famous antiquary of Queen Elizabeth's reign, says that the country people of those parts believed that the Roman soldiers planted certain herbs good for the curing of wounds.

"Our subject then naturally divides itself into three parts. First, the general history of the Legion as a whole; secondly, the traces of separate sections of this Legion as told off in various places for the discharge of important duties; thirdly, the memorials of separate officers and soldiers in this Legion, as found here and there, both in this country and in sundry parts of the Roman Empire. First, in the general collective history of this Legion four

distinct periods are very definitely marked; and in each case the Legion was connected with great campaigns, with arduous work, and eminent men. The earliest notice of the Twentieth Legion is connected about the very beginning of the Christian era with Illyricum. By this geographical term at that time is meant the whole eastern coast of the Adriatic. We trace by inscriptions the presence of the Seventh and Eleventh Legions in the valleys of the Save and the Drave; but it is also clear that the Twentieth was likewise there, under the generalship of Valerius Messalinus, and that it won the honours of a triumph for its general. I imagine that we have here before us the place and the time of the first enrolling of this Legion, and not only so but the origin of its name, Valeria Victrix. The first word being often exhibited in the abbreviated form Val. there has been much controversy as to whether the word was Valens or Valeria. I imagine there cannot be much doubt on the subject. The Valerian gens was a very eminent one, and it is probable that Valerius Messalinus was a very well known general in his day. There was also in the reign of Vespasian another general of the same name who treated the Jews in North Africa with great cruelty. The officer, however, with whom we have to do in connection with the origin of the Twentieth Legion was an earlier member of the same gens or clan.

“ Passing from this the next distinct sight we obtain of our Legion is in Lower Germany; that is in the neighbourhood of Bonn and Cologne. The lamentation of Augustus, ‘Varus, give me my Legions,’ after the terrible defeat of that general in the northern part of central Germany, is a well-known mark of history; and it is probable after that defeat that the Twentieth was brought to the neighbourhood of the Rhine. At all events we know from Tacitus that it was quartered there, that it took part in the mutiny after the death of Augustus, and in the subsequent campaigns of Germanicus. Inscriptions, too, abundantly attest what we find in Tacitus. Now we come

to Claudius and the conquest of Britain. Tacitus is again our chief authority. Claudius was not a great man, but Agricola, who by Vespasian was appointed to the command of this Legion, was one of the greatest men of his day. In the earlier part of the gradual conquest of Britain this Legion had fought well under Suetonius Paulinus. Afterwards, when there was a question whether Vittellius or Vespasian was to be made Emperor, this Legion declared for Vespasian. Thenceforward we have abundant proof of the presence of this Legion, in the north-west of Britain, down to the latest days of the Roman dominion. To mention two well-known geographical authorities, Ptolemy and the Antonine Itinerary exhibit to us this Legion very prominently quartered at Deva, or Chester, and in fact as giving its chief meaning to this city and a fortress on the Dee. The very name Chester is, as we all feel, highly significant of this fact. It is simply 'Castra,' or 'the camp,' without any prefix, as in the cases of Manchester, Colchester, and the like. We must now turn to the period when the Roman occupation of Britain ceased. Here our view of its history becomes somewhat indistinct; but a reasonable conjecture seems to give us some light on the subject. In the 'Notitia' of the Roman Empire which I have named above, no mention is made of the Twentieth Legion in Britain, though other bodies of troops quartered there are very carefully enumerated. Now at this very time, that is, in the early part of the fifth century, the poet Claudian says that a legion was brought from Britain to fight against the Goths. It seems probable that this was the Twentieth Legion. If this was the case, our Chester Roman soldiers may have helped Stilicho in his victory over Alaric at Pollentia. Thus to the end we find this Legion connected with great men and difficult campaigns.

"We may now turn to the consideration of the traces of those detachments of this Legion which were told off at various times to various places for official duty. In speaking of this subject I will avoid the use of technical terms

as much as possible. Sometimes we find the word 'cohort,' which represented a formal subdivision of the Legion. Sometimes we find the term 'centuria,' which denoted a hundred men. What are called centurial stones are very frequent, and they are commonly indicated by a peculiar twisted or angular mark which is supposed to represent a centurion's rod, which was a mark of his authority. At first sight this form of a rod seems very peculiar; but it is to be remembered, as the Latin writers tell us, that this rod was a piece of vine stick, and likely to be crooked. An illustration of this subject will be furnished presently in a stone which belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Chester Cathedral. Another term is *Vexillatio* or *Vexillarii*, which seems to denote a body of men, variously selected and told off under a special *vexillum* or standard for particular local duty. It appears that some *Vexillarii* of this Legion were with Vitellius in Italy after Nero's death. We find a *Vexillatio* of the same Legion was engaged in some building work at Ribchester, an important Roman station in Lancashire. But our time being short, and the subject very large, I will limit myself in this part of the paper to the *Vexillationes* of this Legion, which helped in the building of two very great works, the wall of Hadrian, between Newcastle and Carlisle, and the wall of Antonine, between the Forth and Clyde. When Horsley wrote his *Britannia Romana*, he stated that no inscription bearing the marks of this Roman Legion had been found along the line of the wall between Newcastle and Carlisle. The subsequent investigation which has been carried on so vigorously has brought to light several of such inscriptions, two of them at least with well delineated figures of the boar, to which I have previously invited attention. There is no doubt that detachments of our Legion were engaged in building sections of that great line of fortification. How great a line of fortification it was may be gathered from the fact that it took ten years in building, and required ten thousand men to garrison its whole line.

“One important truth appears from the inscriptions I have named. They help to settle a question which has led to a great deal of controversial writing. Taken along with other evidence, they tend to prove, in my opinion, not only that Hadrian built that wall, but that no one else could have built it. It is a remarkable fact, however, that so far as the evidence of inscriptions guides us, Vexillationes of this Legion were engaged more largely in building parts of the later wall of Antonine, between the Forth and the Clyde, than in connection with the earlier wall of Hadrian. Especially does this seem to have been the case in the western part of the wall of Antonine. There is indeed an inscription preserved in Scotland, in which the following simple letters ‘*Leg. xx. vv, fecit*’ might lead us to suppose that the whole Legion was engaged for a time upon this work. There may have been some circumstances, of which we know nothing, which caused this to be a necessity, thus denuding Deva for a time of a large part of its military force. However this may be, the inscriptions denoting that parts of this line of wall were built by soldiers from Chester are numerous and emphatic. And here I must mention one circumstance which is amusing. In two archæological books relating to this subject, I have seen the boar claimed as a Caledonian boar. Now, I imagine this savage creature belonged originally to Illyricum, if not to Germany, and that he came to Britain across the water. Whether a living boar travelled with the Legion, as a living bear has been known to travel with an English regiment, I am not able to say. A further notice of the relation of the Twentieth Legion to Antonine’s Wall will be given at the close of this paper.

“We may now begin to track some of those footsteps of another kind, which in various parts of the Roman world remind us of the historical existence of this great body of Roman troops on the Dee. Such memorials are very numerous, and some of them are very affecting. Near Tarragona there is a monumental inscription erected by a

lady named Manillia Prisca to her excellent husband—‘*optimo marito*,’ as she calls him—who seems to have served as centurion in several Legions. Among these Legions the Twentieth is clearly indicated. Near Bath a stone was long ago found, which has given occasion to much debate. Here a soldier of our Legion is described as ‘*fabricarius*,’ which seems to denote a manufacturer of certain parts of Roman armour; and it appears to be indicated in another part of the inscription that there was a college or company of such manufacturers. However this may be, such letters as these, on a Roman stone, open our view into that, which must have been a very busy employment of a large number of men in connection with every important military garrison. Another stone, which appears to me still more interesting, is preserved at Cologne. It tells us of the tomb of a man who is described as ‘*pequarius*,’ or cattle keeper of the Legion. I imagine this stone belongs to the early period of the Legion before it came to Britain at all; and this is a circumstance which increases its interest. In the midst of the rough work which had to be done in Germany, it must often have been necessary to drive cattle within the lines of the fortification, in which case cattle keepers would be required. I will conclude with an instance which touched my feelings extremely when I met with it. This is an inscription found in Algeria, not far from Tagaste. I will exhibit it at the close of my paper. It states simply that a man of the Twentieth Legion ‘erected a monument over his dearest sister.’ The bad grammar and bad spelling in this inscription are charming; and one circumstance gives to the monument a really historical value; it is distinctly stated that this soldier came (we know not on what errand) from the province of Britain.

“I now conclude with the telling of my story. A certain Professor McChesney, who had held the geological chair in the College of Chicago, happened, in 1865, to be the representative of the United States at Newcastle-on-Tyne,

and was in the habit of collecting objects of scientific and historical interest for the Museum of Chicago. While travelling in Scotland he found a certain stone bearing a Roman inscription lying in a farmyard at Hutchinson Hill, near East Kilpatrick, on the line of the Antonine Wall. This stone he purchased and brought to Newcastle, and very politely exhibited it to the Society of Northern Antiquaries, before shipping it to the United States. A report of the meeting reached Glasgow, and naturally Glasgow was very much disturbed. Every effort was made to secure the retaining of the monument in this country. It was urged on Mr. McChesney that the Romans were never in America, and therefore a Roman stone would be out of place there. The Consul replied that as we had many memorials of the Romans in this country, we surely could not grudge the sending of one such memorial to the United States. The force of law was then tried. It was contended that the stone belonged not to the tenant, but to the owner of the property, and that, therefore, Mr. McChesney had not lawfully bought it. But the owner of the property was a gentleman living in Kent, and he declined to interfere. Then a new argument was tried: it was urged that treasures of this kind belonged by right to the Crown. Mr. McChesney replied that when the Elgin marbles in the British Museum were restored to the King of Greece, he might think of the propriety of delivering up this Scotch stone, but not till then. Appeals were still made to the feelings of Mr. McChesney, but at last he cut the matter short by saying the stone was half way across the Atlantic. Now it happens that I can tell the exact date of the final catastrophe of that stone. In the autumn of 1871 I was walking by the side of the falls of Niagara with a young American clergyman, who told me that he had heard that Chicago was burning. I subsequently made enquiries at the Post Office, and found that the rumour was true. The history of that terrible conflagration is probably well remembered

by many in this room. All that I have to say on the present occasion is, that in that conflagration the stone with the ancient Roman inscription was burnt. It happens, however, that a cast of this stone was taken before its departure for America. I have now succeeded in obtaining a reproduction, if I may so call it, of that cast. I here exhibit it in illustration of my paper. After keeping this cast at the Deanery till the new Museum is built, I hope I may be permitted to present it, as a gift for the archæological collection which that Museum will contain."¹

Several exceedingly interesting and valuable relics of Roman interest, chiefly inscriptions, were displayed in the room during the evening, and were explained and commented on by the Dean and Mr. Shrubsole.

Monday, 3rd December, 1883.

The second meeting of the session 1883-4 was held at the Society's Lecture Room, Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 3rd December, at eight o'clock.

Mr. G. W. Shrubsole read a paper entitled "The City Walls of Chester: Is any portion of them Roman?"

An account of the recent discovery of Roman remains in the Wall near the Northgate was included in this paper.

¹ This cast is now in the Society's Museum. It bears the following inscription, referring to the Twentieth Legion:—

Extended.

IMP . C . T .	= Imperatori Cæsari Tito
AEL . HADR	= Aelio Hadr
IANO . AN	= iano An
TONINO . AVG	= tonino Augusti
PIO . P . P . VEX	= Pio Patri Patriæ Vexillatio
LEG . XX . VV .	= Legionis Vicesimæ Valeriacæ Victricis
FEC	= Fecit
P . P . III.	= Per Passus III.

Translated:—"To the Emperor Cæsar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus, the Pious, the Father of his country. A vexillation of the Twentieth Legion, the Valerian, the Victorious, has made three miles" [of the wall].

Monday, 4th February 1884.

The third meeting of the session 1883-4 was held in the Society's Lecture Room, Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 4th February, at eight o'clock.

At this meeting the adjourned discussion on Mr. G. W. Shrubsole's paper, entitled "The City Walls of Chester: Is any portion of them Roman?" was continued.

Some Roman and other local antiquities recently presented to the Society's Museum were exhibited.

Monday, 18th February, 1884.

The fourth meeting of the session 1883-4 was held in the Society's Lecture Room, Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 18th February, at eight o'clock.

The Very Rev. Dean Howson read a short communication on "Notes of a recent visit to Caerleon-on-Usk."

Mr. F. H. Williams described the recent excavations made in the Deanery Field, Chester.

The City Surveyor (Mr. I. Matthews Jones) described some excavations made on the exterior of the City Walls at the Northgate.

The adjourned discussion on Mr. G. W. Shrubsole's paper entitled "The City Walls of Chester: Is any portion of them Roman?" was resumed.

As will be seen by the above notes of the proceedings, Mr. Shrubsole's paper led to a very animated discussion, which was twice adjourned. As it is impossible to find room for the whole of this important paper¹ (which was a very long one) and the discussion which ensued upon it, Mr. Shrubsole has kindly furnished the Editor with the

¹This paper appeared in full in the *Chester Courant* for December 5th, 1883, some copies of which were reprinted in quarto form, for private circulation only. The discussion which followed the reading of this paper will be found in the *Courant* for the 6th February, and the 20th February, 1884, the latter of which contains Mr. Shrubsole's Reply in full.

following summary of his paper, together with the chief points in his "Reply" to the various criticisms made upon his views, a summary of which, from the full newspaper reports published at the time, will be found in the following pages.

THE CITY WALLS OF CHESTER: IS ANY PART OF THEM
ROMAN? BY GEORGE W. SHRUBSOLE, F.G.S.

(*A summary of the original paper read to the Society, December 3rd, 1883.*)

"It is somewhat strange, that one of the most noticeable features in the antiquities of our city, namely, the Walls, which are unique so far as England is concerned, has hitherto received so little attention from the members of this Society. A passing notice, here and there, is all the record that I find in the Society's *Journal*. Indeed, as is often the case, strangers have had more to say respecting their past history than the citizens themselves. While so little has been written respecting them, yet how much might be said! For four hundred years the Walls resounded to the tramp of the Roman soldiery. Then succeeded another four hundred years of desolation, neglect, and decay. Inhabited by no settled people, the place was overrun from time to time by savage hordes of northern tribes—Saxons, Danes, &c.—who seem to have found a peculiar pleasure in the destruction of all traces of Roman civilisation.

"Without pursuing further the history of the Walls in later times, I may mention that recently the rare opportunity was afforded, of thoroughly investigating the construction of at least fifty yards, of what is reputed to be one of the oldest portions of the Walls. It happened in this way. Early in the spring of 1883, a few yards from the Northgate, on the west side, the pavement and inner face of the wall fell in, and had to be rebuilt. During the progress of the work, an opening was made in the Walls for a gateway.

"The section thus exposed presents several features of interest, showing two distinct periods of construction, an

inner and older wall, and an outer and newer wall. The former was wide-jointed ashlar work, decayed and weather-worn on the front edge, and filled in with loose rubble; the latter was formed of massive stones of all sizes, in good condition, and without mortar. Nor were the two walls bonded together in any way; the arm could readily be passed between them. At a glance the facts might be read. The inner and older wall had become dilapidated and needed repair. Instead of taking it down, massive stones (of which more anon) were piled against it, and by their solidity gave substantial support to the tottering old wall. The massive stones forming the outside portion of the Walls were found on examination to be, with scarcely an exception, of undoubted Roman material. Among them were portions of friezes, bases, cornices, coping stones, and (to place their origin beyond doubt) a Roman inscribed monumental stone.¹ This was an unexpected discovery; for while the North Wall had been spoken of as a unique specimen of high-class Roman masonry, no one had suspected that old materials from Roman buildings and cemeteries had been used in its construction.

"The value of the discovery is, that it affords us some data upon which to form an opinion as to the age of the North Wall, and so assist us in solving the problem, as to whether we have in our existing city Walls any actual Roman work *in situ*. At the onset, I may state, that the question narrows itself down to the North Wall, which is

¹ Of these, ten have been deemed worthy a place in the Museum, including the inscribed monumental stone. This is a square block of sandstone of about eighteen inches square. The inscribed face reads—

D M.
M A P R O
M F F A.

This is extended as follows: Diis Manibus Marcus Apronius Marci Filius Fabia (tribu). That is, To the Divine Shades Marcus Apronius . . . the Son of Marcus of the tribe Fabia . . . (See a woodcut of this stone on p. 98.)

the only portion having any pretension to the claim. Fragments here and there of an old wall displaying a double-splayed plinth at the base, with nothing else characteristic of Roman work, may be dismissed at once from the discussion, as introducing too novel a feature in Roman castramentation to be seriously entertained.

“ Before passing on to consider the features of the wall in detail, I cannot too strongly insist upon the identity in age of the work on both sides of the wall, taking the Northgate as the centre; there is nothing on the east that we have not found on the west. The massive blocks of stone, the moulded cornice so conspicuous on the one side, are both present on the other. In the one the cornice is to the front, in the other turned inside. The work is the same. They are both part and parcel of the same wall. If, then, the portion on the East side of the Northgate is Roman work *in situ*, so also is that on the West. It is all one, and ends here as an outer casing. This reasoning would make the casing of large stones Roman work too. Then arises the question, what would be the age of the inner and older wall? Number two wall can scarcely be older than number one. Mr. Roach Smith, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*,¹ says of the North Wall, ‘that it is an example of civic fortification, not exceeded in antiquity by that of any mural remains in this country.’ Behind this wall of high antiquity we have now found an older. What then is the age of this older wall? Is it pre-Roman? This problem I leave for solution to believers in the Roman origin of the wall.

“ To refute the opinion of the Roman origin of the wall we have only to consider the anomalies presented in its several parts, and composition, and its architecture generally. In considering this question, it should be remembered that in arguing against that view, we are introducing no novel theory. Our view is the concurrent testimony of all

¹ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., p. 34.

writers up to 1849, when as the outcome of a walk round the Walls, Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., published to the archæological world his view that the North Wall was Roman work *in situ*. It is the unsoundness of this modern theory which I now seek to point out.

"Let us now look at a typical portion of the wall on the east side of the Northgate. We are supposed to be looking at a wall which, from its plinth to the cornice, is believed to have been part of the wall which encircled Deva on this side. The anomalies are apparent. The irregular size of the stones, small and large intermixed, the absence of mortar, the plinth, which has a very Edwardian look about it; the whole crowned by a cornice, projecting some eighteen inches, as if to facilitate an escalade. It is an unparalleled example, so far as the walls of Roman castra in England are concerned. To find a similar example, Mr. Roach Smith has to go to Egypt, just as Dr. Brushfield, for an instance of masonry without mortar, refers to the Cloaca Maxima at Rome.¹ These are serious 'novelties' to be introduced as component parts of Roman military architecture.

"Again, if we look at the face of the north-east angle of the same wall, we see there the same massive stones, irregular in size, with earth filling up the vacant spaces. Tier upon tier this rises for the height of nineteen feet, without any bonding element, and is only held together by the solid weight of the big stones, and its ample base. From what I have seen of Roman masonry in the city, observing, as I have done, the profusion of mortar used both in the walls and concrete foundations, I cannot consider a pile of stones, however large, without mortar, and with earth filling the interstices, as characteristic Roman work *in situ*, but rather as the work of a much later date, and of another race of builders.

"We will examine some of these 'novelties' more in

¹ *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Soc.*, vol. iii., p. 42.

detail. To take one feature of the Walls, the absence of mortar in the work from the foundations for nineteen feet upwards, as in the case of the North Wall. What of it? It is an occurrence unknown in the walls of the *castra* of England. No similar case can be quoted. In the case of Deva it is inexplicable, with its proximity to the limestone country, with good and direct roads. Nearly twenty feet of walling without mortar, fourteen feet of it for support buried in the soil, which is true of the North Wall. We prefer not to believe, that a wall of this sort would be built at the headquarters of the Twentieth Legion. Examples of their wall building yet remain on and about the Great Wall between England and Scotland. This substitution of earth for mortar, throughout the several courses of the Wall for a distance of four hundred yards, is in itself fatal to any claim for the wall being *Roman work in situ*. Or to take another peculiarity, the supposed secondary use of stones from Roman buildings by Roman builders. This practice is an unheard-of feature in Roman *castramentation*. There is, however, a similar instance in the case of a part of the London wall. There stones from Roman buildings were found superimposed upon genuine Roman walling. Mr. J. E. Price, F.S.A., who was deputed by the Corporation of London to investigate the circumstance, has stated, and proved, that it was the work of mediæval, not Roman builders.¹

“ Again, to pass over the folly of dismantling a large building for the sake of the stones, with an unlimited supply of rock beneath their feet, bearing in mind the reverence in which the Romans held the memory of the departed, not less sincere than the feelings inspired by Christianity, we cannot fancy them robbing their cemeteries of the monuments to the memory of the leading officers of the Legion, for the purpose of building a wall. It is past belief. Saxons or Normans might have done it.

¹ On a Bastion of London Wall, 1880.

Romans never. Nor do the difficulties end here. To in some measure account for the novel features in the North Wall, Mr. Roach Smith speaks of it, in the quotation we have given, as an example of civic fortification of the highest antiquity. Let us see what this statement involves. Among the stones in the Wall, we have found the monumental stone to Marcus Apronius already referred to, belonging to the second or third century, together with cornices and friezes of classic type, and of like age. Now the Romans invaded Britain in A.D. 43, and Tacitus tells us that Agricola, in 78 or 79, erected fortresses in this locality. According to Mr. Roach Smith, Roman fortifications of the highest antiquity would be prior to this later date, and of the first century. Yet we have seen material of the second or third century in the composition of the Wall. There is a further dilemma. If the North Wall is of the highest antiquity, then it is the oldest wall; now as fragments of temples and sepulchral stones are found in the structure, then these go to show that Deva had massive buildings and other elements of a city, before this first wall was built, thus reversing the well-known Roman plan of procedure, of first securing the position of a *castrum* by a wall and ditch.

"Again, no good reason can be shown why, in the case of Deva, the usual system of castramentation, that is with small stones, should have been departed from. It is the plan followed in all the adjoining stations built by detachments of the Twentieth Legion. There exists in all Roman constructive works such a uniformity of design and arrangement, that there needs to be good evidence to the contrary forthcoming, before we can credit the idea that the Devan *castrum* was built unlike any other *castra* in Britain. That Deva was no exception to the rule, and the wall of the Roman *castrum* one of the ordinary construction, we have some evidence in the shape of the centurial stones, which appear as witnesses as to the size and character of the stones used in the construction of the

Wall. These stones once occupied a place in the Wall, and indicated the portions built by the men under the several centurions. The centurial stones are only five inches high, and nothing so small is seen in the North Wall. They only weigh a few pounds as against two or three hundredweight. For a stone that was intended to be used as a boundary mark, if not the largest, at least one of average size would be selected. These centurial stones are, therefore, *prima facie* evidence that the Romans constructed a wall here of similar small stones, and seeing that at least one of them was taken out of the modern East Wall, it would seem to point out that the original source of the stone in question was the Roman Wall. This evidence brings the construction of the Devan castrum into harmony with Roman camps in general, and shows that the Wall was just such a one as the unskilled work of the soldiers could accomplish under their several centurions, and obviates the necessity for presupposing any novelty in the style of building the Wall. In Roman mural work the different centuries of the Legion constructed the wall of the castrum of small stones, rudely squared, laid on successive beds of mortar, as may be seen at Segontium (Carnarvon) and at all neighbouring stations. It is evident also that highly-skilled labour was employed upon the buildings within the camp, and perhaps the gates as well.

“ Much stress is by some laid upon the fact that the massive stones are of a superior kind, and they hence infer that they have been imported from a distance. This is a mistake. There are a few foreign stones, the white variety to wit, but the majority, and the best stones, on microscopic examination, have been found to be identical with our local stone. This view is further confirmed by the presence of the quartz pebbles, which are characteristic of our local ‘pebble beds.’ It is to be remembered that the bed of sandstone on which Chester is built is more than three hundred feet in thickness, and the quality varies every few yards. All that can be claimed for the superior stone is,

that much discrimination has been shown in the selection of it. Competent judges inform me, that as good a quality of stone is to be had on the spot as in any of the more distant quarries. All the evidence then is in favour of the stone being local.

"In coming to a decision as to the age of the North Wall, we must not forget that at its western termination, where our excavations were made, it thins out, and does duty as a buttress in protecting an older wall, which has none of the characteristics of a Roman wall, so that we have yet to look for a still older wall, which has not been found. We have seen that the construction of the wall is quite exceptional, that nothing like it is to be found among the *Castra* in England, while of mediæval work there are several instances of an analogous character, leading to the conclusion that the work is much later than is reputed. It is satisfactory to know that the few scraps of local history we possess, bearing on the subject, point to the same conclusion.

"In answering the question as to whether any part of the existing walls is Roman, I have shown that the idea is too novel to be seriously entertained; that the view of the older writers of the modern age of the Walls is the more correct. Further, I may add, that during thirty years' observation of the structure of them at various points, I have not seen there any Roman work, such as I am familiar with in walls and foundations in various parts of the City of Chester."

In the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Shrubsole's paper, of which the above is a summary, the Mayor (Mr. Charles Brown) pointed out, that at the meetings of the Archæological Association in Chester in 1849 and of the Archæological Institute in 1856, it was generally conceded that there were portions of the Roman Wall plainly visible. This was especially the case as regards the large stones at the end of Gray Friars and at the Kaleyards. He thought that the "bonding" referred to by Mr. Shrubsole would be unnecessary on account of the size of

the stones. Mr. Harrison, the well-known Cheshire architect, who was familiar with Roman work at Rome and in the East, considered there was evidence of Roman work *in situ*. When his (the mayor's) firm rebuilt their premises they found a number of Roman bricks *in situ*, but he thought that when the Walls of Chester were built they did not need tiles.

Dean Howson said he was well acquainted with the great Roman Wall from the Solway to the Tyne, and he could say in regard to it, both west and east of the well-known Roman station called Chesters, that there was most certainly not the slightest trace of brick ever met with there. He felt very strongly what Mr. Shrubsole had said about the customary tiles in the Roman walls elsewhere, but still it was important to note the above exception. He had also always looked upon the stones in the wall near the Kaleyards and those facing the Roodee as being Roman stones.

Mr. T. Hughes, F.S.A., said that he disagreed entirely with what Mr. Shrubsole had stated about the age of the City Walls. At the Wishing Steps, in forming some drains from Bridgegate to Park Street a few years ago, a large portion of stone-work was uncovered, when some beautifully regular masonry was found, which was then pronounced to be undoubted Roman work *in situ*, and there were no bonding tiles there. In reply to the assertions that the Romans always used tiles, he would direct attention to the remains of the Roman bath in Bridge Street, where the pillars now in the Water Tower Grounds rested on the bare rock. How was it that no tiles were used here when every other Roman bath found in Britain was so constructed? How was it that at Chester these hypocaust pillars were built of stone and not of tiles?

The discussion was then adjourned.

At the adjourned meeting, held on the 4th February, 1884, there was a large attendance of members. The City Surveyor (Mr. I. Matthews Jones) exhibited several

diagrams, sections, &c., of the City Wall, including the cornice near the Northgate. He stated that the wall commenced with batter and ran to a certain height, as shown on the section, 74 feet from the centre of the Northgate, and the cornice full sized commenced at 82 feet from the centre of the Northgate; and the batter wall and the remains of a cornice extended eastward 114 feet 6 inches. Then came a break of 57 feet of vertical wall, popularly known as a Civil War breach, very much weathered but composed of stones with mortar joints, but without the cornice. Then came 138 feet with distinct remains of a cornice, running for 48 feet 4 inches, and including buttresses and a vertical face wall. That brought them to the larger breach made in the upper part of the wall at the time of the Civil War, 158 feet without any distinctive cornice to King Charles' Tower, gradually dying away to a vertical face. Calculations showed that 309 feet altogether of cornice remained, or 103 yards, a very extraordinary length to be brought from anywhere else to be placed in such a position. Then wherever excavations had been made to the foundation as at the Northgate, underneath the breach, at the extreme north-west and at the extreme distance named, near King Charles' Tower, not a vestige of mortar was found in the batter wall. The stones were regular in size and courses, some, so far as could be judged, very large ones, three feet thick; in some cases they were very good on the face, others on the joint parts near the face were decayed and weathered, but those where the earth was newly taken away in excavating were in splendid condition. Mr. Shrubssole had referred to the absence of mortar as tending to prove that the wall was not Roman, but he (the speaker) pointed out that the best acknowledged authorities mentioned that one of the distinctive features of Roman masonry showed that the stones were laid in horizontal courses without cement. In evidence of this there was the gateway of Trèves, built of enormous blocks of sandstone,

three and four feet and others nine feet in length, with a depth varying from three feet. And so skilfully were these stones put together without mortar or cement that they appeared to be supported only by their own weight. With regard to bonding tiles, in all his experience of the City Walls, he had never come across any in position in the walls. They had found no mortar in connection with the so-called Roman work, only on each side near the breach. In reply to a question he stated that so far the moulding of the cornice he had found was all of one pattern. Some was very much more weathered than others.

The Mayor (Mr. C. Brown) stated that the canal now running along on the outside of the wall at the Northgate was constructed in 1770, its original position being assigned further to the north, but the contractor discovered, or was led to imagine, that the old fosse would be available, and he (the Mayor) thought it existed from King Charles' Tower to St. John's Church, but had never yet been excavated.

Mr. W. Thompson Watkin said that his opinion had long been that the cornice and the wall on the top of the rock by the Northgate were not Roman work *in situ*. That they were Roman stones there could be no doubt whatever. He was also of opinion that the features of the wall at the Kaleyards and on the Roodee were distinctly Roman. He thought it was a most unlikely thing for the Romans to place a cornice in the position it now occupies.

Mr. T. Hughes, F.S.A., said he was still inclined to stick to his old beliefs that there were portions of the city Walls still showing Roman work *in situ*. He would ask Mr. Shrubsole to what other period he would assign the building of the wall at the Northgate, establishing it by anything like evidence. That wall had many qualities which belonged exclusively to Roman times. The wall itself, he maintained, was of Roman construction, and had not an atom of mortar in it. It was constructed of stones of a peculiar character, and of decidedly Roman work-

manship, and they must not be deceived because having been covered up during all these centuries, some portions, when uncovered, appeared fresh. He also thought that the plinth, which was found to run along the greater part of the wall wherever excavations had been made, was another distinctive Roman feature. With regard to bonding tiles, he thought it ought to be understood that that was not an exclusively Roman characteristic. There was no attempt at bonding tiles to be met with in any portion of any old buildings that had been met with in Chester, except only at one point in the Castle. At least, he had seen none. He was prepared to say that bonding tiles were absent from the Roman architecture of Chester.

Mr. W. Shone, F.G.S., said that the city surveyor's drawings of the mouldings, the wall, and the plinth, were perfectly accurate, as he had that day carefully examined and compared the wall with the drawings exhibited. He was much puzzled to find that the plinth was composed of such small stones, which were also bevelled on the upper edge, while the stones supposed to be the Roman foundations of the walls opposite the Cathedral, and also by the Roodee, were much larger, and not bevelled, but squared. With regard to the stone of which the wall was built, he proceeded to show by evidence which proved beyond question or doubt, that it was built of the stone from the Bunter Pebble beds, upon which Chester stands, and not from the Lower Keuper sandstone of Runcorn or Manley, from which the characteristic pebbles, so conspicuous in the stones used in the City Walls, were entirely absent. He had further compared the stone of the wall with the stone from the canal cutting below, and these (which he exhibited) were so exactly similar in lithological character as to defy the most practised eye to distinguish the slightest difference between them, either in structure or colour.

Dean Howson said that with regard to the bonding tiles, he imagined the Romans built in different ways, according to circumstances, and that it was a most unlikely thing that a

people like the Romans, who were essentially a building people, should fetter themselves by any conventional rules. He was well acquainted with some part of the Roman wall between the Solway and Carlisle, and there was no trace of any bonding tiles there. He confessed that the argument weighed with him very much that the masonry of which they were talking was found to be very carefully put together, and gave evidence of being the work of very careful builders, so that he was forced to say they must look upon this piece of masonry with very great respect, far more than on a congeries of stones that might have been used to strengthen the work of a mediæval wall. In fact, if the wall in question were not Roman work, he would like to know where they would find it?

The discussion was then again adjourned.

At the adjourned meeting held on the 10th February, 1884, there was again a large attendance of members. The Very Rev. Dean Howson read a short paper, entitled "Notes of a recent visit to Caerleon on Usk." He said the wall at Caerleon, which was a Roman fortress, similar to Deva, was built of small stones without mortar in the interstices, although there was plenty in the middle of the wall. The turns in the fortifications were rounded and not angular. He then referred to the recent excavations in the Dean's Field (at Chester) made by the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, and said that the foundations of the inner wall there exposed were miserably bad, just as the Norman foundations were in the Cathedral, hardly worthy of being called a foundation at all. He then read a letter from Mr. Thompson Watkin, of Liverpool, wherein he expressed the opinion that a portion of the wall east of the Northgate was composed of Roman stones, but that they were not Roman work *in situ*, and also that the lower portion of the wall at the Kaleyards was distinctly Roman. This opinion he strictly adhered to. The absence of bonding tiles, he said, proved nothing, as in many Roman walls, especially at Chichester, there were no traces of tiles.

Then as to the absence of mortar. In the great Roman wall no mortar was detected, except at the stations. The plinth, as an architectural feature, could not be considered as a test of age. Mr. Shrubsole argued that because of the plinth, the wall at the Kaleyards could not be Roman, but the plinth was visible at many stations, although there were numerous instances of Roman walls without a plinth. The cornice, Mr. Watkin added, began to be fashionable in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, and no doubt the cornice, taken from some temple or other building, was made available at the Northgate.

The Dean then called upon Mr. I. M. Jones, the city surveyor, to furnish the meeting with the result of his observations in regard to recent explorations of the Wall.

Mr. Jones said: "Since the last meeting I have, by the authority of the Improvement Committee and his Worship the Mayor, opened the ground by the low stone wall in the Hoppole Paddock, near the Kaleyards; on the Roodee, by the sallyport steps near Black Friars; and also have further investigated the Walls at the Northgate. I submit drawings showing the excavations and walls found. I confess that I did not expect the good fortune to find at the Kaleyards, at such a depth below the ground, the footings with a bevel plinth and the face stones of the same form and bearing the same character as regards courses and work as at the Northgate Wall. At the Roodee I found the large stones erroneously described as footings, had more than fifteen feet of the same massive masonry underground, the actual footings I have not accurately determined, owing to four or five feet of water being above them, but I have shown them as square on the annexed drawing. By a strange coincidence a batter is again found here of not so great a slope, but within three inches of the same height as the Northgate Wall. I have not found, either at the Northgate or Kaleyards any mortar in the joints or any trace of concrete backing. These facts (not assertions merely) confirm substantially the Roman origin

of the Northgate Wall, and undoubtedly show the building of this Wall contemporary with the Kaleyards and probably with the Roodee. The Romanism of the Kaleyard and Roodee walls heretofore has not been questioned, and it now having been proved that the Kaleyards, Roodee, and Northgate Walls approximate in almost every particular, even to the base, which we know must have been covered with earth for centuries; then with myself Mr. Shrubsole must admit his conversion. If not, then, sir, with your permission (though the onus of proof lies, as it were, on the plaintiff in this discussion) I will be more generous than Mr. Shrubsole and give some authorities and reasons for the faith that is in me.

“ As he wished me to look into the cornice question I have done so. The age is uncertain. I have an example of a nearly similar moulding at Hengrave Hall, Suffolk, but only as a part of a joint mould and not as a cornice. But Wright says—‘ The Walls of Chester, and probably those of other places, were crowned with an ornamental coping, above which, perhaps, rose battlements.’ And if our Roman gateway and its surroundings had anything like the ornamentation displayed on the Roman Gateway at Tréves, then Mr. Shrubsole should blame the Emperor Constantine for putting up much more ornamental work than this cornice, to be battered by the enemy. I have already given the length of cornice—the depth is enormous; and with these facts it will still puzzle Mr. Shrubsole’s ingenuity to find a place for the same, other than where it is found.

“ Then as to Mr. Shrubsole’s four standard points, named by him A, B, C, D. Taking A—the absence of bonding tiles—this point he concedes. Then B and C—the absence of mortar in the joints and concrete from the body. As to this, Parker says that ‘ The Walls of the later kings are of more regular character . . . and simultaneously with these in other districts where the material is a hard stone that will not split . . . we find a different construction . . . and closely fitted together without cement.’

This construction being the easiest and cheapest with these materials, is also continued at all periods, even to our day. Then followed the invention of lime mortar. When men understood its advantages it was used in profusion, and even to excess, and from that time afterwards the body of a Roman wall was almost universally built of concrete, &c. 'In the fourth century,' Parker continues, 'stone walls continued to be used, and these are frequently built of large stones, like the walls of the kings, and they have either mortar (and please note this), or are wedged together with wooden wedges, or clamped with metal.' 'In the arcade of the Aqueduct of Claudius, the large stones are well cut and held together by wooden tenons.' Please also note this—'The buildings of the eleventh century in France and England are generally very massive, and built of large stones where they could be had, with wide joints of mortar, which are generally characteristic of this period.' Wright also says:—'In some parts of the Roman walls in Britain we observe inequalities which seem to have arisen from the accidental deficiency of particular kinds of materials.'

"These extracts prove that Roman work without mortar was done simultaneously in other districts with mortar work, and that anyone knowing anything of the massive construction of the Northgate Wall, where we find single stones more than one ton weight, and it being a wall of one face only, it would not require any body or inner filling of concrete, more especially seeing that, according to Mr. Shone the stones for facing and rubble backing were under the builders' feet. Then what becomes of Mr. Shrubsole's theory in the face of Parker's authority as to wide joints of mortar being characteristic of the eleventh century work? Then again the latest authority on early and imperial Rome, Mr. Hodder M. Westropp, referring to the regular horizontal masonry (which the Northgate Wall illustrates), states that the stones are put together without cement; and lastly, the Roman gateway at Tréves, built by Constantine, should settle the question

so far as the use of mortar is concerned outside Rome. Built of enormous blocks of sandstone, four to five feet in length, some measure eight or nine feet, while their depth varies from two to three feet (see the stones in the Northgate Wall). Wydenbach refers to the skillful way they are joined together without mortar or cement of any kind, &c. You will perhaps remember how the conquerors of the Romans were deceived as to not finding metal clamps in the work. So that we have not to go alone to Rome to do as Rome did or did not do, as Mr. Shrubsole wishes us on the mortar question.

“The last fatal objection made by Mr. Shrubsole recoils on himself—that this is only half a wall—a sham. I have already given a fair idea of the construction, and but few words should be necessary to convince our town’s folk that a town of this size, in any but the Roman period, building a wall of this expensive nature from the Northgate to the Kaleyards, would have been overweighed in a financial sense, even we to-day would have felt the tax oppressive. Now as to the local stone and its lasting properties, Wright says—That even where the facings of these walls have been exposed to the air so many centuries, if not injured by the hand of man, they preserve a remarkable freshness of appearance. But whenever they have been buried, when the earth is removed, the masonry appears as fresh as if it had been the work of yesterday. This certainly is the case with the Northgate Wall. The face also of the rock from which the stone has been got shows no sign of wear, and the rock at Handbridge stands, with the sculpture of Minerva thereon, affording a striking contradiction to the assertion that some of our local stone is unequal to the wear of fifteen centuries. The example of the Roman Tower at Dover Castle proves the rounded slope and batter, and at Richmond the bevel of base. As additional proof, Wright says—In some instances the second course was bevelled off into a moulding. The drawings exhibited show the wall of Romulus, the London

Wall, the Kaleyards, the Roodee, and the Northgate Wall; if their similarity on comparison does not convince Mr. Shrubsole, he would even doubt the wall of Romulus, if it could be transferred to the Northgate. Everyone will admit that the subject deserves serious consideration, and I hope, if the Town Council see the propriety of repairing the Walls, to give Mr. Shrubsole the opportunity of examining them more closely than he could possibly have done previous to making his heroic charge against them, and as a result of actual observation I hope yet to hear of his recantation."

Mr. Shrubsole then read a lengthy "Reply to objections," of which he has furnished the following summary:

"In my first communication to the Society on this subject, I stated that some discoveries were made last year, (when a part of the Northgate Wall was under repair) of Roman remains, including a sepulchral slab, which had formed the outer case of a wall, that certainly was not Roman. Occurring as these objects did close by the reputed Roman Wall, it was eminently suggestive of the need for further inquiry into the truth of that belief. Accordingly, I laid my views before the Society, at the same time giving reasons, which seemed strongly to militate against the received opinion, and, therefore, I urged that the question as to whether the east side of the Northgate Wall was Roman work *in situ* should be reconsidered. Knowing how frequently Roman materials were worked up by later builders, I suggested that if Roman work, it was only old material used over again. These were the points prominently brought forward by me for consideration.

"It was then open to any of the members, who believed in the Roman character and origin of the Wall, to have shown that the belief was well founded, and that the appearance and character of the masonry in it was identical in every respect with what is to be seen in all that remains to us of the several Roman castra in Britain. This would

have been a fair comparison, and settled the question. So far from this having been done, not one example is brought forward out of the many *castra* available. True I am reminded of similar mortarless masonry to be seen at Trèves, and also at Rome and in the Great Wall. These cases, I must insist, are not to the point, for we are discussing the features of Roman *castra*, and in all fairness the comparison should be drawn from places in England, in which work of this kind is to be seen. It then must be noted that strictly speaking no evidence has been brought forward from existing remains in Britain, which can in the least justify the idea of the anomalous character of the masonry seen in the Northgate Wall as being Roman work. On the other hand, the typical Roman wall, small roughly-squared stones, backed by concrete, is to be found in nearly every *castrum* in England.

"The Great Wall of Hadrian, seventy miles in length, between the Solway and the Tyne, has been referred to as affording an instance of similar massive masonry to our own wall. Even here some of our friends are under a mistake, for in 1864 the present Bishop of Calcutta read a paper before our Society on the subject of the Roman Wall between the Tyne and Solway. The Bishop, I need scarcely say, was long resident in the vicinity of the wall, and therefore competent to speak about it. The wall itself he describes as a double facing of rough but regular courses of masonry, filled in between with concrete; the stones, about 9 inches by 8 inches, being placed lengthways into the wall. Notice here the mention of mortar or concrete, and stones not a foot square, pygmies in comparison with our giants at the Northgate of 5 feet by 3 feet. There may have been other styles of masonry in different parts of the wall, but I fail to see anything in the Bishop's account of it that militates against the views I have propounded. Indeed, it substantiates what I have insisted upon from the first, that the Romans did use mortar to construct their walls. More than once the contrary opinion has been

expressed during the discussion, and the Great Wall cited as a case in point. Now, in addition to what the Bishop of Calcutta has stated, I am in a position to give this statement as to the non-use of mortar, an emphatic contradiction, since I have it on most competent authority, that of the Rev. Dr. Collingwood Bruce, that the Romans never constructed a wall without the use of mortar; it was used in the building of the Great Wall. There have been instances in which from exposure to atmospheric influences the mortar has been removed from Roman masonry, and the superficial observer in consequence deceived. The application of this rule is fatal, as we shall presently see, to the idea that the wall at the Northgate is of Roman origin.

"It is admitted that, prior to the Christian era, the Romans did in some cases erect structures with stones of cyclopean proportions, and with joints fitting so accurately as to dispense with mortar. This class of work was never applied to the walls of a castrum, and to hint a comparison between work of this kind and our North Wall, with its open joints, and random stones, is to compare things which admit of no comparison. No admitted example of a castrum in England can be found without mortar in its construction.

"Another point to be noticed is that the advocates of the Roman idea failing to get any help or corroboration of their views from existing Roman remains, seek to overwhelm me with the opinions which have been held on this subject during the last fifty years by the fathers of the Archæological Association, men whom I delight to honour, and hold in respect. I believe that had they seen the discoveries which have been made in and on the walls in 1883 and 1884, they would have considerably modified their judgment, and the world would have heard very little of the Roman Walls of Chester.

"This claim for the Wall being Roman, I do not find to be a very old one. The parties in the best position for

judging say least about it. Camden in his day in describing Chester makes no allusion to the Walls being Roman. Randle Higden, in the fourteenth century, tells us of the Roman pavements and inscribed stones to be seen in his day, but says nothing of the Walls being Roman. While the Lysons, who are worthy of some credit, say, 'No part of the Roman Wall of Chester now exists, though the present Wall stands no doubt on the same foundation.' Mr. Brushfield in his paper on Roman Remains in Chester tells us that 'the late Rev. W. H. Massie of respected memory was the first to point out this part of the City Wall as being Roman.' If so the idea is only thirty-five years old. Mr. Roach Smith published his opinion in 1862.

"The position that I take up on this question is this. I once believed as I was told that the Walls were Roman. As time went on I found certain things absent from the Walls, and other things present which, on the supposition that they were Roman, gave rise to doubt and ultimately to conviction that the common opinion was an erroneous one. It has chanced that I have had evidence presented to me which has not been presented to my predecessors, since it has only been available during the past twelve months.

"After disposing of these objections, I consider that we have now arrived at that stage of the inquiry when it is possible for us to come to some definite conclusion as to the Roman, or non-Roman origin of the Wall. Nothing has occurred during this discussion to in the least degree invalidate the opinion I expressed at the first, that there is no precedent in this country of a wall similar in construction and built by the Romans. While there are many instances of a wall identical in character and composition, built as we know both in Saxon and later times. For this among many other reasons I still maintain that the wall in question was not built by the Romans."

Monday, 9th June, 1884.

The fifth meeting of the session 1883-4 was held at the Albion Rooms, Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 9th June, 1884, at eight o'clock.

Mr. G. W. Shrubsole described the recent discovery of Roman and mediæval remains discovered on the north side of White Friars, on property belonging to Frederick Bullin, Esq., J.P.¹

The Very Rev. Dean Howson added some particulars of the Carmelite Friars in Chester, in connection with the probable remains of their church on this spot.

Photographs, plans, sections, and drawings of the masonry and antiquities found were exhibited.

¹ Since this paper was read Mr. W. Thompson Watkin has printed a full account of these discoveries in his *Roman Cheshire*, pp. 147 to 152, illustrated with a folding plate giving a ground plan and section of the remains found.





SESSION 1884-5.

Monday, 3rd November, 1884

THE opening meeting of the session 1884-5 was held in the Society's Rooms (formerly the Albion Hotel), Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 3rd November, 1884, at eight o'clock, the Very Rev. the Dean of Chester in the chair.

Mr. Arthur Baker (architect), long associated, under the late Sir Gilbert Scott, with the restoration of Chester Cathedral, delivered a lecture on "The History of the Diocese of St. Asaph, as represented by its Parish Churches." The lecture was copiously illustrated with drawings of the churches and other ecclesiastical buildings in the diocese, specially prepared from the author's own sketches.

THE PARISH CHURCHES OF THE DIOCESE OF ST. ASAPH,
BY MR. ARTHUR BAKER.¹

Mr. Baker, in the course of a lengthy and very interesting address, copiously illustrated with drawings of the churches and other ecclesiastical buildings of the diocese of St.

¹ Mr. Baker has kindly sent the Hon. Secretaries his paper in full, but it is so very long that they have been obliged to make use of the summary, which appeared in the newspapers.

Asaph, showed that out of two hundred and twenty-five churches in the diocese existing in 1873, one hundred and fourteen were founded prior to the Norman Conquest; one hundred and one of these churches were dedicated to British saints, whilst some of them bore Saxon names. Thirteen he supposed to have been founded directly after the Norman Conquest, and very probably there might have been considerably more; thirty-six were founded by Normans, and nine chapels in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, since which sixty-three new parishes had been formed. Proceeding to point out the advance of architecture in the diocese by means of the drawings referred to, the speaker noticed Valle Crucis Abbey as a fine example of the first transitional period from Norman to Early English. About the middle of the Early English period a great deal of church property was destroyed by Henry III., the cathedral being burned by English soldiers, but in 1296 the rebuilding was completed, and much of the latter work was discovered by Sir Gilbert Scott during the late restoration, particularly two fine lancet windows, a drawing of which the lecturer exhibited. In 1291 a great "taxatio" and list of the churches with their values was taken; and in 1304 the newly-elected canons were required to build suitable houses on their glebes, and the cathedral and churches were put in repair. But the troublous times of Owen Glendower and Henry IV. again resulted in a great destruction of church property, thus accounting for the disappearance of any roofs in the district earlier than the fifteenth century, though there were numerous examples of woodwork of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries still remaining elsewhere. Coming down to the Perpendicular period, the lecturer pointed out several examples, noticing in passing that, while in England, traces of the different styles of architecture were to be found, it was not so in Wales. About this period the style, size, and shape of church windows became adapted for the insertion of stained glass, and its free use in the district

made him think there must have been a manufactory of the kind somewhere in the neighbourhood of St. Asaph. In order to show off this work the larger Perpendicular windows took the place of the smaller and earlier ones.

The lecturer here pointed out by means of drawings many instances and peculiarities of fine timber roofs of the fifteenth century in the diocese, especially hammer-beam and flat roofs, as at Mold and Ruthin, and proceeded to explain how, in his opinion, the recurrence of two aisles and a clerestory in the churches were to be accounted for by a system of enlargement which necessitated the latter. Then, again, in almost every old church, in addition to the beautiful roofs, would be found indications of rood screens both of wood and stone. Many instances of these, of great beauty, were adduced by the lecturer, who also spoke in high terms of the interior of St. Winifred's. From the latter part of Henry VIII. to the end of Elizabeth's reign the principal work of erection of roofs was completed. Passing on, the lecturer reviewed some of the principal events of the Cromwellian era, showing how in 1641, in obedience to orders, images were demolished and altars and superstitious pictures were removed from churches and chapels, and communion tables from the east end of churches; and in 1643 the sale of copes, &c., was ordered, supplemented the following year by an order of Parliament forbidding the use of and ordering the removal of superstitious images. At Meliden Church the font had been found built into a doorway, it was supposed because of such order; and from that time, during the forty years that intervened, till 1686, when a new font was provided, it might be taken that the church was without one. But the destruction of rood lofts and screens was not so complete as to prevent some of them being restored at the restoration of Charles II. Then they came to the whitewashed walls and ceilings and every other abomination of the Georgian period, when numbers of churches were also pulled down and much that was valuable to the antiquary was destroyed.

O, that they could say that this destructive mania had for ever passed away! He took it that buildings that had stood the wear and tear of four centuries were capable of repair, though it might require a considerable amount of faith. Anyone who had seen Meliden Church in its restored condition would bear him out in this, whilst if it had been rebuilt the diocese would have suffered a severe loss. In conclusion the lecturer referred to the necessity for entrusting every work of church restoration to the care of a competent and painstaking architect, who would have sufficient veneration for and know how to treat objects of great antiquarian interest.

In the course of the discussion which followed,

The Mayor (Mr. Charles Brown), alluding to the old and splendid timber roof of Cilcen Church referred to by the lecturer, said there was a tradition that it was brought from Basingwerk Abbey. The stone work certainly appeared of a much later date than the roof.

Mr. Baker could not exactly say how that was, but it would be a curious coincidence if the roof fitted the church. He thought, however, that there were indications of one of the windows at least being earlier than the roof, whilst the font was Norman, and part of the original church. But the roof, which was clearly of the fifteenth century, was one of the most magnificent he ever saw.

The Mayor was understood to say that he had been told by a former rector that the church was built to fit the roof. The stone work was certainly of a very plain character, whilst the roof was very rich.

Rev. Canon Thomas expressed some disappointment at the structure covering the well of Llantrillo, on the sea shore at Colwyn Bay, being described by the lecturer as likely to be of comparatively modern date, he (the speaker) having alluded to it, in his work on the *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, as an ancient structure. But of course he stood corrected when the lecturer brought reasons to show that it must be of a much later date. He supple-

mented the lecture with a few interesting remarks in regard to the early church in Wales, and alluding to an observation by Mr. Baker on the paucity or utter absence of stone altars in the diocese, pointed out that in the chapel of the old castle at Hawarden was to be found one bearing the five crosses or "wounds." He said he did not altogether condemn the old whitewash and plaster of the Georgian period, as was the fashion with some people, as he thought they had been in a great measure preservative of much of antiquarian and archæological interest.

Monday, 1st December, 1884.

The second meeting of the session 1884-5 was held in the Society's Rooms (formerly the Albion Hotel), Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 1st December, 1884, at eight o'clock.

Mr. G. W. Shrubsole read a paper on "Deva: Its Walls and Streets, or Chester in the Time of the Romans."

The fragment of a Roman altar, discovered on the 1st November, 1884, close to the city walls at the east gate, was exhibited and described.

DEVA: ITS WALLS AND STREETS, OR CHESTER IN THE
TIME OF THE ROMANS,¹ BY GEORGE W. SHRUBSOLE,
F.G.S.

"Of the early history of Deva little is known. It will be admitted on all hands that the situation of Deva was one in every way suitable for the purpose of a Roman Camp. A level plot of not unkindly soil, a mile or two in extent, with good natural drainage, a tidal river on two sides, and the rest enclosed by a forest, affording both fuel and animal food in abundance, would seem of all places the one that

¹ Mr. Shrubsole has kindly furnished this abstract of his original paper.

we should have expected to have been occupied. Such a place was Deva prior to the coming of the Romans. The Romans were not slow to discover the value of the position as a military post; while across the river the mineral resources of the country of the Ceangi in North Wales such as coal, lime, and lead, may have further influenced their decision in making Deva a legionary station. From its position it would be essentially the key to the possession of Britannia Secunda, at the same time holding the road to the far north.

"The first Devan Camp, we may be sure, was very limited in extent, and simple in its construction. At this stage of its existence it would be square, and made up of a wide trench, the earth dug out from which formed at the side a rampart, further protected by brushwood or stakes planted on the top. In time, as the advantages of the position were realised, it was determined to make Deva a permanent legionary station—a depot to furnish the men and arms, to conquer and hold the north and north-western provinces, for Imperial Rome. When this took place, the temporary camp would soon give way to one of a more solid character. The fosse might indeed remain, but in front of the rampart of earth would arise a solid stone wall, ten or fifteen feet in height, with towers, or forts, or gates as required. The streets became an ample paved way, both in and outside of the camp. Inside, the streets intersected it at right angles, dividing it into four unequal quarters, which in turn were divided and subdivided. That Deva was a Roman station is a matter of history. That it became in time encircled with a stone wall is, I think, equally certain, for apart from the circumstances to which I have referred, we read in Saxon times of the existence of a wall, which originally could only have been the work of Roman hands. Then again we have the evidence of the five centurial stones from the wall itself—a record of work done, which could only refer to the wall of the Roman *castra*.

"In speaking of Deva as a Roman station we scarcely do

it justice. It was more, both as to size and importance, than a mere station. It was the fortified camp of one of the four Roman Legions then in Britain, the Twentieth, the Valerian and Victorious Legion. A military fortress of the first importance, it, with Eboracum (York), the capital of the province, served to consolidate the Roman power in this part of Britain. While admirably placed for keeping watch and guard upon North Wales, it equally served as a point from which to advance against the northern tribes. It was from Deva that Agricola marched against them with the Second as well as the Twentieth Legion, taking the direction of the line of stations along the north-west side of the province up to the great wall, along which at various stations we find, on inscribed stones and tiles, the record of their doings. If any proof is required of the Roman origin of the present Walls of Chester, we have it in the shape, position, and dimensions of the present circumvallation: all these details, within certain restrictions, are essentially Roman. The present streets of Chester run mainly in an east and west, and north and south direction, and are a survival from Roman times. The *via militaris*, as we shall see, passed through the camp very much on the line of the present main thoroughfare of Boughton and Foregate Street. The *porta principalis* was on the site of the present Eastgate, and the *via principalis* the Eastgate Street and Bridge Street of to-day. The striking parallelism, which we shall show to exist between the Roman streets of Deva and the City Walls of Chester, is of so marked a character, as to indicate clearly the Roman origin of the latter.

"It will help us in working out the limits of the Roman camp and its encircling wall, if we first of all get the direction of the *via militaris* in and out of Chester. These Roman roads, we know quite well, ran in tolerably straight lines from one point to another. Such being the fact, it comes to this, that if in a stretch of reputed Roman road, we find at distant points certain portions all tending in the same direction, and we draw a straight line between these

points, we get the Roman road restored. These Roman roads, we may remark, were paved ways some 25 feet broad, and raised some 3 feet above the surrounding ground. We recently, in the month of September last, broke through some 600 yards of the Roman street on the Eccleston Road, on the occasion of laying water pipes. We may take it that the presence of the Roman road under the present Eccleston Road is established beyond doubt. Now if we turn to the ordnance map we notice that the road now, with one slight deviation, is in a very good north and south line, and further that it is pointing to the old ford (Aldford), near the Iron Bridge. We leave this spot for the present, and take our station in Upper Northgate Street, a mile distant, which was the road out of Deva, on the line of the present Parkgate Road, to the Roman colony at Meols, the remains of which have been so well cared for, at the hands of the late Canon Hume. With the map before us, and having in view the Roman road through Handbridge, we draw a line between it and where we have found the Roman street in Upper Northgate Street. This line is the north and south street, which passed through Deva, across the Dee, and along the Eccleston Road to Eaton, and from there branching in one direction to Uriconium (Wroxeter), and in the other for North Wales and Segontium (Carnarvon). We will take the width of the street as 80 feet in its passage through the camp. The course it took was as follows. After leaving the Northgate, it rapidly encroached on the west side of the street, until half way down it left the present roadway, and passed some yards inside the present Town Hall and Market, the Town Hall steps being the centre of the Roman street, thence behind Shoemakers' Row, the churchyard of St. Peter's Church, the whole of which it included. Bridge Street from the Cross to St. Michael's Church is almost identical with the Roman street, with the exception, on the west side of some 15 feet between the Cross and Commonhall Street. In Lower Bridge Street,

to Castle Street, it is 40 feet west of the roadway. From this point the present roadway turns sharply to the east, and is the Norman approach to the bridge. The Roman street is continued through Shipgate Street and Skinner's Lane, and is very nearly in a line with the angle of the wall of the county gaol, where we come to the fords (the ground on either side gently sloping to the river), and across Greenway Street to the Eccleston Road. In corroboration of the above being the Roman street, I may mention that Upper Northgate Street, Bridge Street, and (for a certain distance) the Eccleston Road, a distance in all of some two miles, are none of them, after allowing for 80 feet of roadway, more than 20 feet out of the line of the Roman road which we have sketched. Now in the vicinity of the fords we have both a scarped rock surface, and a wall built up of rock. If this front be carefully examined, it will be found that the rock has been excavated down to a low level for 25 yards, and is now built up with sandstone, and the point where it is so built up coincides with the line of the Roman street. I may also mention as being further corroborative, that nearly all the Roman altars found in Chester have been met with on the margin of what I have regarded as the street, or the one to be mentioned shortly. This is just the prominent place in which we should expect them to have been set up. We have found altars in Eastgate Street, Bridge Street, Foregate Street, Northgate Street, and Watergate Street. They have all, without exception, been found by the side of one or other of the Roman ways. The Roman paved street as well as the line of buildings have been found at many points in the direction indicated, which I need not now stay to particularise.

"I think that we may regard the north and south road through Deva as fairly established. The other road will not be difficult to trace, since we know that the rule generally was to follow the cardinal points, and therefore we shall find it to intersect the other road at a right angle, in an east and west direction. We are further guided by the

line of the last few miles of the Tarvin Road, without doubt a branch of the Northern Watling Street. The direction of this street at this point is identical with the one through the city. The bend of the river at Boughton Church interfered with its course, and necessitated its divergence at Boughton, but in Foregate Street we have its course again indicated. Now, how does the present Eastgate Street agree with the Roman street? The south side is found to be very true to the old lines, while on the north side at either end the encroachment is as much as 20 or 30 feet. It is Watergate Street that suffers most by the comparison. Both sides of it, near the Cross, encroach some 20 or 30 feet upon the Roman way. We have now by the help of the Roman streets outside Deva restored the leading ways through the Castra. Having thus ascertained from existing data the course of the streets, we shall have no difficulty in tracing the lines of the camp wall, since I think we may act upon the principle that the streets and walls would be arranged on parallel lines, in accordance with the well-known Roman custom. A very cursory glance at a plan of the present walls is strikingly suggestive of the existence of old lines of fortifications with modern extensions. Nor is it difficult to separate the one from the other. In one we see a definite plan, which in the other is conspicuously absent.

"With the plan of the camp before us, and its streets marked out, we take in at once the idea of the square camp of Roman Deva, and what is very much to the point, find that no part of the present Walls is more than 50 feet out of a line drawn through them, parallel with the streets, while to a considerable extent they occupy what we believe to be the original lines. The distance between this restored east and west wall is 1,930 feet. Having straightened the north wall, we proceed to run a line 1,930 feet distant to obtain the square of the camp. The result is as follows. It commences with the curve at the Newgate, of which the Wall is a continuation, at a point some few

feet only from the Newgate, thence through the north side of St. Michael's Church to St. Martin's Church, and ending at a spot 20 feet north of the Black Friars' steps leading to the Roodee. We first found the streets of Deva, and then the streets have given us the walls. With regard to three sides of the walls, the east, north, and west, we need have no shadow of doubt as to their identification. The south wall, it is admitted, is in a different position, and yet there is corroborative evidence in favour of its taking the direction I have mentioned. It is singular that the present curve in the east wall near Mr. Storrar's house should agree with the line of the square. This round corner at the south-east angle is similar to the north-east angle, and both are strongly indicative of Roman fortifications, and of the existence originally of a Roman tower on the spot, as in the case of Eboracum. Then, again, the existing walls beyond the square camp are crooked, irregular, and unshapely, and evidently the production of a much later time. Further, a strong reason for believing that the south wall of Deva did not extend beyond this point is, that some years ago evidence came to light, that near the Black Friars there was in or about Roman times an inlet of the river, which ran in the direction midway between the Militia Barracks and St. Bridget's Rectory. In cutting the intercepting sewer in 1876, the bed of this stream was seen extending for 100 yards. This naturally enough determined the boundaries of the southern wall of Deva.

"We will now start from the Newgate and survey the east side. Taken as a whole, it is the nearest of the three walls to the original lines. At either extremity the line is nearly correct, and at no point of divergence does it exceed 12 or 14 feet, and often only a few feet. The principal departure is from near the Eastgate to the Cathedral Churchyard. We pass round the north-east angle, and examine the north wall. Here, too, the first part of this side is tolerably true to the original lines until we come to the Northgate, and from this point to Morgan's Mount the

present wall runs at least 20 feet in advance, while from Morgan's Mount to the north-west angle it is the like distance inside of the Roman Wall. At the Water Tower corner we find that the mediæval builders have extended the walls outwards nearly 40 feet. The silting up of the river rendered it desirable to push forward the fortification, and determined the construction of the additional outwork. Now we proceed with the west side of the Wall which, soon after leaving the Water Tower, recovers its normal character, and is well on the Roman foundation, and the same may be said of the ending near Black Friars. It is worthy of note here that the large stones on the Roodee, which, on account of their size, are presumed to be part of the Roman wall, are 40 feet outside the Roman *castra*, and altogether out of the direction of either line of wall.

"We have now gone over three sides of the Walls, and indicated what I believe to have been the original lines of the *castra*. I know of no circumstance to militate against this view. On the contrary, there is much to support it. For instance, outside of the wall there should have been a fosse, if of Roman origin, and a fosse has been found. On the western side the camp was protected by the river and needed no fosse, while on the north and east front the former existence of it has from time to time come to light. The fact so far strengthens the case that no reasonable doubt need be entertained that we have ascertained the course followed by the Roman wall of Deva over three sides of its course. Of the fourth, the south wall I admit that we have no trace of either wall or fosse, and, singularly enough, it is the same with York. It has been stated that the fosse of the south wall was discovered in 1848, but such was not the case, and I hope to show that what was found has not the least claim to be regarded as the fosse. The facts are as follows: During the sewerage of the city in 1848 in St. John Street, Pepper Street, and Grosvenor Street, a trench was found cut in rock. It was seven feet wide at the top, rapidly sloping to three feet. Then appeared a

floor of stout timber. By probing, no rock was found at a depth of 17 feet. The narrowness, the depth of the cutting, and above all the timber floor, altogether exclude the idea of its being the fosse; while the space beneath the floor, filled with debris of Roman age, clearly indicates a drain, and the wider opening suggests facility in its making. It was really an intercepting sewer cut in the rock to drain the east and south area of the camp, on which sides we know there were two buildings of large size.

“I will now call attention to the similarity between the Devan camp, and the camp as described by the Roman writer Polybius. They were both square in form, and virtually identical in size, the latter having a diameter of 2,077 feet, and the former of 1,930 feet. It will be observed that in the latter also the *via Principalis* is not in the centre of the square, but on one side, dividing into thirds, one-third on one side, two-thirds on the other. So it was in the Devan camp. Eastgate Street is part of the line of the *via Principalis*, and divided the city in much the same way. But the Devan camp was not in every respect absolutely a reproduction of the typical Roman one, indeed, it could not be, for it contemplated for the *via Principalis* a wide open space through the camp. In our case there could be no through communication in a line with Eastgate Street, owing to the Westgate terminating with half a mile of the river in front. Some modification was needful, and the *via Principalis* followed the main line of traffic from Eastgate Street, through Bridge Street, to the Fords across the Dee. It will be noticed in the camp, as described by Polybius, that the smaller division, the upper camp, is set apart for the official residences, and contained the *Prætorium*, *Quæstorium*, and *Forum*, &c., extended in line with the *Prætorium* in the centre. This arrangement was not possible in our case. What was done under the circumstances is best shown by what we have found as relics. The only place in the city in which we have found the remains of public buildings has been on either side of

Bridge Street. There, of late years, we have found the remains *in situ* of two or more public buildings, each 100 feet long. Bases, columns, capitals, friezes, mouldings, cornices, have all come to light to witness to the former existence of buildings of noble proportions on the site. The character of these buildings has for long been a puzzle. If we take Polybius as our guide the mystery is at an end. The erections found in Bridge Street would be the Prætorium, the residence of the general and his staff; the Quæstorium, or Public Revenue Office, the Forum, or Market, as well as the seat of justice. These are some of the public buildings essential to the head quarter's camp of a Roman Legion. We have been accustomed for years to regard St. Peter's Church as on the site of the Roman Prætorium. There is no evidence to support this from anything that has been found. According to Polybius, the Prætorium was in the smaller and upper division of the camp. St. Peter's Church is on the wrong side of the *via Principalis*. Some years ago a considerable number of Roman coins were found in Bridge Street, on the site of these buildings. It was the largest find of which we have any record. Could this have been any part of the Roman Treasury on the site of the Quæstorium? We are now able for the first time to name the several gates of the Castra. The gate in the rear of the Prætorium, or south gate, will be the Porta Præatoria, and the Northgate the Porta Decumana, and the Eastgate the Porta Principalis.

" This sketch of Deva would be incomplete without some notice of the appearance of the walls and their fortifications. It is true that we have no fragment of the wall remaining, to which we can point in illustration, yet we have material to guide us, including undoubted stones from the original wall. These will give us a general idea of the size of the stones. Then we may fall back upon York, as the counter part of our Castra, for other details, and avail ourselves of the well-known similarity of Roman masonry. In this

way the restoration will not be wholly imaginary on our part. The material of the wall was our own local red sandstone. This point has been ascertained beyond dispute. It was built of small rudely-shaped stones, set in mortar, but open jointed. In height the wall was some ten or fifteen feet, and in width about six feet, sufficient to allow two soldiers to walk abreast. The fosse we know was of unusual depth, and this leads me to think that on that account the wall was not so high as usual. On the top of the wall there would be the breastwork three or four feet in height. In the depth of the wall there would be two layers of four or five courses of bonding tiles. The strength of it was mainly due to the concrete interior, which filled up the space of five feet between the single layer of stone on the outer and inner face of the wall. The effect being with the aid of the bonding courses to consolidate the whole into a rigid mass, firm as a rock. As a rule we find that this interior filling of the wall is often more durable than the outside stone: for at York, Manchester, Leicester, and many other places there are parts of the old wall of which nothing remains but the interior core of concrete. This does not hold good in Chester, for the concrete formed of sandstone fragments is an inferior article. The mortar is good, but the sandstone has, in many instances, lost its cohesiveness, and may be crushed between the fingers. This is the reason why we have none of the Roman wall visible to-day. They seem to have been aware of the nature of the stone. Hence in important foundations, such as that of the Southern Gate (*Porta Prætoria*), which we found quite recently covering an area of 14 feet under the steps of St. Michael's Church, the concrete was composed of small boulder stones bedded in the usual mortar. It was so unyielding that it was not possible to procure a specimen of it for the Museum.

"This explanation will go far towards accounting for the fact, that there is no Roman work *in situ* to be seen above ground in the Walls. As to the claim of the City

Wall between the Phoenix Tower and the Northgate to be so considered, Dr. Brushfield tells us that Mr. Massie was the first to point out that it was Roman. This is not forty years ago. I have good reasons for believing the work to be of Edwardian age. There only remain the large stones on the Roodee to be considered. There is really no case here to answer; the stones in question are no part of a wall. A few big stones placed terrace fashion on a sloping clay bank do not constitute a wall. They are supplementary to the real wall, which has always been on the top of the bank. Their purpose has been to keep the clay bank from slipping, and bringing down the Wall from above. The age of the stones is not two hundred years older than the enclosure of the Roodee, as shown upon some of the stones being undercut as by the action of sand and water, and now buried beneath a foot or two of soil. The supposed Roman stones at the Kaleyards proved to be, when excavated, alongside the base of an Edwardian wall, out of the perpendicular (the top having most likely fallen over), the base was allowed to remain, and a new wall built some feet inside of the old.

"A recent visit to York has shown me that there are several striking parallels between that city and Chester worth noting. Both were originally Roman fortresses of the first magnitude, each capable of holding one-fourth of the Roman soldiers in Britain. Both were built about the same date, and for a like purpose; each was the headquarters of a Roman Legion; the dimensions and form of both camps were much the same; both were built on the banks of a tidal river; both have a south wall not as yet traced. Both possessed a mediæval wall, which has survived to the present time. In both the lines of the Roman wall have been used in part for the modern fortification. Indeed, so strong is the resemblance that I feel we ought to regard them as (what they really are) twin fortresses, constructed much upon the same plan, and, not

unlikely, owing much to the engineering skill and constructive genius of Agricola. York is fortunate in having not only large fragments of the original Wall in good preservation, but towers and turrets as well. An examination of the Wall at York has convinced me that its preservation is due to the superiority of limestone as a building stone over sandstone. I have found no Roman concrete in Chester to compare for hardness and solidity with that to be seen in York, owing, of course, to the use of the sandstone in the former case.

“Again, I think that we may learn something as to how the Walls of Deva were protected, or armed. At York we have towers projecting from the angles of the Walls, and furnished with loopholes, to effectually command the Walls on either side. Similar towers, I have no doubt, were existent in Deva, while the gates were similarly protected, and smaller towers were present at intermediate points. The earthen ramparts, which backed up on the inner side the outer stone wall, are not so well seen in Chester as in York. In our case the six or eight feet of earth has long since been covered over with a like amount of soil, and the surrounding ground has, from a variety of causes common to an enclosed inhabited spot, been raised in time to the same level, so that now in Chester, Roman roads and remains are found at depths varying from 8 to 14 feet. It may be interesting to give some of these recently ascertained depths. At White Friars, under the Lady Chapel, and Eastgate, 9 feet, the King’s School yard 10 feet, Dean’s field 12 feet, Genio Sancto Centuriae Altar 13 feet. In this sketch of the walls of Deva, it must be understood that while I have taken the latest extension of the circumvallation by the Romans for elucidation, I am not forgetting that there is evidence of a much earlier camp in which each gate stood in the centre of its own line of wall. This I leave for the present.”

Monday, 5th January, 1885.

The third meeting of the session 1884-5 was held in the Society's Rooms (formerly the Albion Hotel), Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 5th January, 1885, at eight o'clock.

Mr. W. Thompson Watkin read a paper on "Facts Connected with the Roman Occupation of Cheshire."¹

This lecture was illustrated by the exhibition of some of the Roman altars and inscriptions from the Society's Museum, and by the exhibition of Roman remains collected by Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, and found in Chester.

Monday, 2nd February, 1885.

The fourth meeting of the session was held at the Society's Rooms, in Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 2nd February, 1885, at eight o'clock.

Mr. Robert Holland, of Frodsham, read a paper entitled "Cheshire Idioms, Metaphors, and Proverbs."²

Mr. Ewen exhibited a number of specimens of ancient lace from his own and other collections, and made a short communication on the antiquity and history of this valuable art.

Monday, 2nd March, 1885.

The fifth meeting of the session 1884-5 was held at the Society's Rooms (formerly the Albion Hotel), Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 2nd March, 1885, at eight o'clock.

¹ The principal facts here referred to will be found in Mr. Thompson Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, published since this paper was read.

² The most important of these Cheshire Idioms, Proverbs, &c., will be found in Mr. Holland's *Cheshire Glossary*, recently published by the Dialect Society.

The Very Rev. Dean Howson delivered a short lecture entitled "Notes on the Old Chapter Books of Chester Cathedral."

The Rev. G. Preston, M.A., read a letter addressed by him to Mr. G. W. Shrubsole on "the Agreement of the lines of the present streets of Chester, with the *Viæ* of an original Roman camp, and the probable direction of the southern agger."

NOTES ON THE OLD CHAPTER BOOKS OF CHESTER
CATHEDRAL, BY THE VERY REV. J. S. HOWSON, D.D.,
DEAN OF CHESTER.¹

The Very Rev. the Dean began by referring to the former neglect of documents and books in the Cathedral, and stated that when Dr. Coplestone came here as Dean, and began various reforms, which were very much needed, he found the books in closed cases, shut out from fresh air, and some volumes of great value were found eaten into utter ruin. Within the memory of some now living, boys at the King's School had opportunities—and used those opportunities—for cutting pictures with their penknives out of some of the books. So, with the documents of our Cathedral, I found them some years ago in dust and confusion; and a duty which ought to be discharged as soon as possible is the careful examination of them and the placing of them in order. As to the Chapter books, which I wish to bring to your notice, it was on this wise that I became aware of their existence. In an open box containing various business papers, apparently of little value, I one day accidentally caught sight of a fragment of writing of the seventeenth century. My curiosity was excited, and on tenderly taking out the paper on which this writing appeared I found that it was part of an old

¹ Unfortunately the death of Dean Howson has prevented this lecture being revised by him. It is therefore printed from the report in the *Chester Chronicle* of March 7th, 1885.

Chapter book hanging together in shreds. A second book of the same kind, and in a similar condition, was found presently afterwards, and both were confided to the skilful and affectionate care of Mr. T. Hughes, F.S.A., and here they are, carefully bound, and with every page safely preserved and arranged. Both these books are fragments. Some parts of them are irretrievably lost. But, besides this, it is evident that at some period the Chapter minutes of our Cathedral were kept with great care, at other times very carelessly.

The period of time over which the earlier of these books ranges is from 1648 to 1673. The second begins in 1694 and ends in 1747. One of the first things that one meets with in these pages is an indication of the vast extent of this diocese, even when separated by King Henry VIII. from the mother diocese of Lichfield. The Dean proceeded to quote a minute of January 28th, 1661, in which, amongst other matters, it was ordered "that the yearly rent of twenty pounds per annum, payable from Sir William Stanley, Baronet, bee payed yearly for the supply of all fast festival and extraordinary sermons, and that in due tyme some able and orthodox person be pitched on for that employment, and to bee made also vicar of St. Oswald's at the next vacancy." We find "It is also ordered that there be no Hollyday lecture hereafter maintained at the charge of the Chapter, but bee supplyed as anciently by the constant lecturer by the ancient constitutions allowed, notwithstanding any act made by the Chapter formerly to ye contrary, and Mr. Trafford is to bee paid for every sermon hee hath preached on Hollydays since Midsummer last 10s. for every sermon or otherwise according to my Lord Bishop's direction." This is also signed Henrie Bridgeman. The whole question of the "lecturer" in Chester Cathedral is a very curious one. He is not a statutable officer, and yet he was for several years a recognised personage. Next we have a record January 5, 1662, stating "That the copye of an answeare to the

Rt. Rev. Father in God the Ld. Bp. of London touching the redemption of prisoners in Aldgiers he fayr transcribed and returned to his Lordship with our name subscribed." The subject of the appointment of sub-deans and receivers and of the nomination of scholars for the King's School by the Dean having been touched upon, the lecturer proceeded to give a quotation of an amusing character. In September, 1707, it is ordered, "Whereas complaint hath been made that Edmund White, organist of this Church, being intrusted to instruct a young gentlewoman of antient and right worthy family in musick, endeavoured to engage her affections by kissing, courting, and the like dalliance unknown to her parents, and motioned a match with her, which particulars when sounded he could not deny, only frivilously pretended the motion of marriage was in jest. We, therefore, abhorring attempts to steal children from their parents as much as to rob parents of their most vallued treasure, doe according to the statute 'de corrigendo' depose the said Edmund White from that place of organist, and also from being master of the choristers, and we doe declare that the station or office of organist and master of the choristers to be actually voyd. L. Fogg, Dean." Now here this raises some very interesting questions. I refer to the office of "organist." This office does not really appear in the statutes, but then it is to be remembered that the organ was an instrument which only gradually grew into its present magnificent proportions.

The lay clerks used to be named "conducts." The following passage exemplifies the severity of discipline which was sometimes applied to them: "Nov. 28, 1711. Forasmuch as Mr. Samuel Webb, one of the laie clerks or conducts of this church, hath been heretofore admonished concerning some misdemeanour, from which he is not yet reclaimed or hath returned to his duty, wherefore we decree and order that the said Mr. Webb be for the present discharged from ye said place of conduct or any other place

in this church that he layeth claim to, yet reserving to ourselves the liberty of restoring him to ye said place of conduct, when he shall regularly behave himself and conform to such orders as shall be made for his due and more regular behaviour. And that in the meantime he doe not presume to sit in the stall that he was accustomed to sit in, or wear his surplice, but that he constantly attend ye service of the church in some other visible place.—L. Fogg, Dean."

The association of the name of St. Oswald with the south transept was also touched upon. It would be a mistake to say that the transept ever was St. Oswald's Church in the strict sense of the word. The power of holding service there during the intervals of Cathedral service was the limit of the right of the parishioners, and there was a minute dated June 20th, 1672, which he read, in which it was recorded that John Deane, butcher, sexton of the parish of St. Oswald's, begged pardon on his bended knees of the dean and chapter for having broken ground for a grave in the Church of St. Werburgh, otherwise sometime called by the name of St. Oswald, without their leave. On December 3rd, 1708, there was a note of the petition of the parishioners of St. Oswald to the dean and chapter for a gallery, and on September 6th of the following year the dean and chapter gave their consent. The lecturer then proceeded to sketch the lives of the various deans in office during the period mentioned. He concluded with a brief defence of the antiquarian against current cavils in which he said: "Some persons, who have a distaste for all intellectual pursuits, and think themselves wise in consequence, are apt to smile at antiquarians as dealers in small trifles, and as enthusiasts for worthless relics. But such criticisms are not according to the true relation of things. Gold mines are not to be discovered by the men staring with a vacant mind at the surface of the ground, and without any trouble being taken to dig. A local archæological society has, in truth, a very great dignity and a very great claim on public

attention, because it is a conscientious, useful, and loyal servant to one of the mistresses of the sciences, to the study of history."

THE ROMAN STREETS OF CHESTER.

The Rev. G. Preston, M.A., read a communication he had addressed to Mr. Shrubsole on the subject of the correspondence of the principal streets of Chester with the "viæ" of a Roman camp. After comparing his view of the matter with Mr. Shrubsole's, with the aid of drawings on the blackboard, he said: "After some thought I have come to the conclusion that my original idea was the right one, that the—

1. Eastgate stands where stood the Porta Prætoria.
2. Watergate stands where stood the Porta Decumana.
3. Northgate stands where stood the Porta Principalis Dextra.
4. The Prætorium was near (a little east of) the Market Cross.
5. Northgate Street and the upper part of Lower Bridge Street run where ran the Principia or via Principalis.
6. Eastgate Street runs where ran the short road from the Porta Prætoria to the Prætorium itself.
7. Watergate Street runs where ran the road from the Porta Decumana to the Prætorium.
8. Weaver Street and Trinity Street run where ran the via Quintana.

"And I will even venture on the hazardous course of giving reasons for my conclusions, because the theory, if sound, should be able to stand criticism. I have been led to my opinion chiefly by the remarkable, indeed most striking, similarity between these streets of Chester and the ways in a Roman camp. Let anyone take a map of Chester and a plan of a Roman camp, such as may be found in a dictionary of Roman antiquities, and place them side by side in the manner I have indicated, and

then compare the corresponding relative positions; they will be found to agree, street with 'via' almost exactly. I attach the greatest importance to the idea that the present streets follow the lines of the ways in a Roman camp, because, as thoroughfares in constant use for centuries, they would not be likely to be built over, rights of way being always jealously guarded amongst the Romans as amongst ourselves. Buildings may disappear, but roads and streets (unless after a general conflagration) do not. Indeed, the curious antiquary might find some interest in tracing the correspondence of King Street, Princess Street, and the whole of the other streets and passages opening southwards on the south sides of Northgate Street and Bridge Street, to the passages on the Porta Decumana side of the via Principalis in a Roman camp. This would go no little way towards explaining the marvellous number of passages, bye-ways, alleys, and shuts in Chester. Has anyone ever seen any other place with more or with so many?" Having discussed the question pretty thoroughly, Mr. Preston concluded—"And now having tried to solve one question, may I start two fresh ones? First. Why in Chester, which is so much of a Roman city, are there so many *gables* to be seen in the streets, when we know that in Rome these were only allowed in *temples*, or occasionally in the houses of pre-eminent Romans, on whom was bestowed the privilege of having a '*fastigium*' (gable) as a sort of divine honour? I may mention that when in Rome, some years ago, I noticed few or no gables in the streets except in the case of *churches*, nearly all of which had gables facing the street. Second. Next, where was the Amphitheatre? I have no more doubt that the Roman officers and men, who liked fun with their fighting and fighting with their fun, had an Amphitheatre near at hand, than I doubt that British officers get up horse races, wherever they are posted for any length of time. Where was it? It must have been in either the north or the north-east or the east side outside the walls. Could it have been in Boughton?"

Mr. Shrubsole, being called upon to reply, said that at that late hour he would not speak at any length. Indeed, he agreed generally with what Mr. Preston had said as to the arrangement of a typical Roman camp. In his paper on "Deva," &c., one of his objects had been to show, from what had been *found* here, how and why this ordinary disposition of a camp had been departed from, and to that he still adhered.

Wednesday, 5th August, 1885.

A joint excursion of the Archæological and Natural Science Societies took place on Wednesday, the 5th August, 1885, to visit the Roman road recently found at Edisbury and Delamere.¹

Mr. Edward Kirk, of Manchester, to whose perseverance the re-discovery of this Roman road is due, was the leader of the party.

¹ A full account of this road, with a map, plans, and sections, will be found in Mr. Thompson Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, pp. 26 to 46.





SESSION 1885-6.

Monday, 14th December, 1885.

THE opening meeting of the session 1885-6 was held at the Society's Rooms, Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 14th December, 1885, at eight o'clock.

Mr. Edward Kirk, of Manchester, read a paper on "The Roman Roads in Delamere Forest and the Neighbourhood."¹ This paper was illustrated by specially prepared maps, photographs, and diagrams of the roads and sites explored by Mr. Kirk.

Mr. G. W. Shrubsole exhibited and described certain Roman remains in lead and bronze from Bridge Street and Vicar's Cross, and Samian ware and cinerary urns from the Roman Cemetery at Handbridge, &c.

Monday, 25th January, 1886.

The second meeting of the session 1885-6 was held in the Society's Rooms (formerly the Albion Hotel), Lower Bridge Street, on Monday evening, the 25th January, 1886, at eight o'clock.

¹ See Mr. Thompson Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, pp. 26 to 46. Mr. Kirk's paper appeared in full in the *Chester Courant* for December 16th, 1885. Another paper on this subject is also printed in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. iii., pp. 111-133, 1885, illustrated by a plan of the Roman Roads and an enlarged Section.

Mr. James Hall, of Willaston, near Nantwich, read a paper entitled "Place Names in Nantwich Hundred."¹ The principal places referred to in this paper were pointed out on a large skeleton cartoon map, specially prepared for the purpose.

SPECIAL COUNCIL MEETINGS.

It seems desirable that the following copies of the Minutes of the meetings of the Council of the Society, held on the following and subsequent dates, should here be printed:—

Council Meeting, Friday, 18th December, 1885.

Present: Dr. Stolterfoth, M.A., in the chair; the Rev. H. Grantham, Mr. A. Lamont, Mr. G. W. Shrubsole, and the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Thos. Hughes, F.S.A.

The Hon. Secretary reported the death of the Very Rev. the Dean of Chester, John Saul Howson, D.D., one of the Presidents of the Society, and asked the pleasure of the Council as to the Society being officially represented at the funeral to-morrow, Saturday, December 19th, in the Cloister Green of the Cathedral.

Whereupon it was unanimously agreed that Messrs. I. E. Ewen (Archæological Secretary), Henry Taylor (Historic Secretary), G. W. Shrubsole (Curator), and Mr. Lamont should be appointed a deputation to represent this Society at the funeral—the Chairman, the General Secretary, and other members of the Council having been summoned to attend in other public or official capacities.

Other business had been set down for discussion, but in view of the circumstance of the late Dean's lamented removal and of the painful ceremony of the morrow, it was

¹ Mr. Hall's paper, which appeared in the local papers shortly after the date of the meeting, is somewhat too long and too discursive to be here printed.

determined to proceed no further but to adjourn this Council meeting to the earliest convenient day in the new year.

Council Meeting, 6th January, 1886.

At a meeting of the Council held this day at the old Albion Rooms, Lower Bridge Street. Present: Dr. Stolterfoth, M.A., in the chair; Dr. Davies-Colley, Messrs. Baillie, Lamont, Shrubsole, and Thomas Hughes (Hon. Secretary).

The minutes of the last meeting were read by the Secretary and letters from the Rev. C. B. Griffith, Messrs. H. Taylor, and G. Frater.

The Council had met on this occasion mainly to pass a vote of condolence with the family of the late Very Rev. Dean Howson. The Secretary submitted, and the Council approved, the following letter of sympathy addressed to the relatives of the Society's late lamented President:—

To the Rev. George John Howson, M.A., Edmund Whytehead Howson, Esq., M.A., the Rev. Francis James Howson, M.A., and the Misses Howson, sons and daughters of the late Very Rev. John Saul Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester.

We, the Council of the Chester Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society in Council assembled, respectfully tender to you as a family our earnest sympathy and condolence on your recent double bereavement.

The death of Dean Howson is a severe public loss to this city, to which, by long association, he had become so warmly, nay even reverently, attached. The Cathedral,—to the restoration and adornment of which, he had consecrated the later years of his most valuable life, literally wearing himself out in its service,—is a standing monument and evidence of his active and devoted loyalty to both the Church at large and to our city in particular.

But it is as one of the leading Presidents of our own Society that we, as a Council, would desire especially to speak of our much lamented colleague. From the day of his

first coming to Chester as Dean,—though Archaeology, as he was fond of confessing, had not previously occupied his mind to any great extent,—he was not long resident among us without finding those pursuits, so dear to our Society, gradually acquiring a firm hold upon his respect and regard.

The late Dean was one of the most regular attendants at our antiquarian gatherings, seldom absent from either our Council or ordinary meetings; and whether it was in his position as chairman, genially supporting the readers of papers before the Society, or himself an able and enthusiastic lecturer, or sharing freely in our sometimes animated debates, he never failed to make his influence felt or his conclusions treated, other than with the respect all acknowledged he deserved.

We cannot, therefore, but feel that, while the great loss to his family (accentuated as that has been in so solemn a degree by that of his faithful partner through life—your excellent mother) can never be replaced, we of the Council, who in common with our fellow members, have worked along with him in the fields of local archaeology and history, have lost a friend, who was ever ready with his countenance and advice in the directing of our researches and studies to some useful and practical end.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

HENRY STOLTERFOTH, *Chairman.*

Council Meeting, 24th February, 1886.

Present: Dr. Stolterfoth, M.A., in the chair; Messrs. Henry Taylor, Baillie, Lamont, Shrubsole, and T. Cann Hughes (Assistant Secretary).

The Secretary announced that he had received the following letter from the Rev. George J. Howson in reply to the vote of condolence with the family of Dr. Howson passed at the last meeting.

Overton Rectory, Rhuabon, January 13th, 1886.

Gentlemen,—On behalf of my brothers and sisters and myself, allow me to thank you most cordially for the

beautifully worded address of condolence, which you have been good enough to send us. I well know the intense interest which my father had in the Society which you represent. The objects were very very dear to him, and constantly when I used to go to see him during this long last illness of his, I found him busy with something connected with it.

When at Bournemouth, I heard him in the middle of some of the distressing wanderings of his thought say, "Tell Freeman and Chester I take no credit," referring, doubtless, to the proposed meeting to be held in Chester this year and to Professor Freeman, who is, I believe, to be the chairman of one of the sectional meetings to be held in connection with archæology.

Again thanking you very much,

I am, yours very faithfully,

GEORGE J. HOWSON.

Council Meeting, 5th June, 1886.

Present: His Honour Judge Wynne Ffoulkes (in the chair), His Grace the Duke of Westminster, the Very Rev. the Dean of Chester, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber, Rev. H. Grantham, Dr. Stolterfoth, Messrs. I. E. Ewen, A. Lamont, G. W. Shrubsole, H. Taylor, and T. Cann Hughes.

Resolved that a circular be sent to the members calling their attention to the approaching visit of the Royal Archæological Institute from Tuesday, August 10th, to Tuesday, 17th August, 1886, and to explain the advantages open to members only on that occasion.

Council Meeting, June 21st, 1886.

Present: His Honour Judge Wynne Ffoulkes (in the chair), the Very Rev. the Dean, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber, the Rev. H. Grantham, Dr. Stolterfoth, Messrs. Lamont, Baillie, H. Taylor, I. E. Ewen, Shrubsole, and T. Cann Hughes (Hon. Sec.)

The Secretary read the report of a sub-committee of the Council appointed to consider the constitution of the Society and of the Museum fixtures.

The Council adopted the rules framed by the sub-committee with slight modifications.

The Council deputed the same sub-committee to draw up, engross, and present an address of welcome to the Royal Archæological Institute on their approaching visit to the city.

General Meeting, 7th September, 1886.

A general meeting of the members of the Society was held at the Grosvenor Museum, the Venerable the Arch-deacon of Chester, chairman. The meeting proceeded to discuss the recommendations of the Council as to the proposed alterations in the title of the Society, and of the rules for its constitution and government, and to elect the Council and Officers for the ensuing Session 1886-7.

These Rules, which were subsequently revised and altered, will be found on the following pages, together with the list of Members made up to May 30th, 1887. The list of the Council and Officers of the Society will be found at the commencement of this volume.

Resolved that the rules be printed and circulated among the members of the Society.

Resolved that the best thanks of the Society be given to the Chairman and Directors of the Chester United Gas Co., the monthly Board of the Chester General Infirmary, and to the family of the late Dean Howson for their handsome donations to the Society's Museum and Library.

Resolved that the General Secretary be instructed to write to the above, acknowledging the gifts with the thanks of the Society.





R U L E S.

TITLE.

THE Society shall be called "The Chester Archaeological and Historic Society."¹

PURPOSES.

The Objects of the Society shall be—

- (1) The collection and publication of Archaeological and Historic information relating to the City and County of Chester and the neighbourhood.
- (2) The preservation in a permanent Museum of the Remains of Antiquity and other objects of interest in the City and County of Chester and neighbourhood.

CONSTITUTION.

The Society shall consist of Life, Ordinary, and Honorary Members.

Life Members.—Donors of ten pounds or more shall be members for life, and shall be entitled to copies of the Society's *Journal* as published.

Ordinary Members shall consist of all subscribers of ten shillings

¹When the Society was originally founded in 1849, it was called "The Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society of the County, City, and Neighbourhood of Chester." The late Rev. W. H. Massie, one of the earliest Hon. Secretaries, designed an interesting badge for the Society bearing the words, SOCIET: ARCHITECT: ARCHÆOLO: ET: HISTOR: CESTR: with a garb or wheat-sheaf in the centre. This the Council intend to use for the new series of the Society's *Journal*, although the word Architectural has been removed from the title.

and sixpence per annum. They shall have the right of attendance at all Lectures, Exhibitions, and Ordinary Meetings, and shall also have the use of the Library, and access to the Museum. They shall also be entitled to a copy of the Society's *Journal* for the year for which their subscription is paid.

Honorary Members shall be chosen by the Council.

MANAGEMENT.

The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, to consist of the following persons:—The President, Vice-Presidents, and Officers of the Society, viz., the Editorial Secretary, the General Secretary, the Assistant Secretary, the Treasurer, the Curator, and the Librarian. To these shall be added ten members to be elected by the Society at the annual meeting. The Council shall meet quarterly, or more frequently if necessary.

Five of the elected members shall retire from the Council yearly, in rotation, but shall be eligible for re-election. Five members of the Council shall constitute a quorum. The Secretaries and other Officers of the Society shall be annually elected by the Council.

The Council may appoint sub-committees for special purposes, who shall act under the control and supervision of the Council.

If any member shall be desirous of altering any rule, he shall propose such alteration, in writing, to one of the Secretaries, who shall submit it to the Council at their next meeting; but before any rule shall be altered by the Council, notice thereof must be given at a previous meeting.

There shall be an annual general meeting, to be held in the month of May, and also monthly meetings as far as possible on the third Monday in each month during the Session.

A special general meeting may be called, of which not less than fourteen days' notice shall be given, stating the objects of the meeting, on a written requisition to the General Secretary, signed by not less than five members.

PROPERTY.

When the Council shall consider any paper, read at a meeting

of the Society, worthy of being printed in the *Journal*, they shall request the writer to submit the manuscript to the Editorial Secretary, so that it may appear in the Society's *Journal* for that purpose.

The writer of any paper printed in the *Journal* shall receive twenty copies of his own paper gratis.

All Antiquities, Books, Prints, &c., belonging to the Society shall be preserved for the use of the members at the Grosvenor Museum, and in such rooms and custody as shall be appointed by the Council. All orders for payment, &c., shall be made by the Council and signed by the Hon. General Secretary. All cheques shall be drawn and signed by the Hon. Treasurer. The accounts shall be audited by two members appointed at the annual meeting of the Society.

ADMISSION OF MEMBERS.

The names of candidates for admission to the Society must be proposed and seconded by two members at any meeting of the Society or of the Council.

All subscriptions shall become due on the 1st day of January in each year.





LIST OF MEMBERS.

CORRECTED TO THE 30TH MAY, 1887.

The names printed in Italics are either Life or Honorary Members.

Anson, Miss, 28, Nicholas Street, Chester.

Bailey, J. E., F.S.A., Egerton Villa, Stretford, Manchester.

Baillie, E. J., F.L.S., Upton Park, Chester.

Barber, The Venerable Archdeacon, M.A., St. Bridget's Rectory, Chester.

Barber, G. E., St. Bridget's Rectory, Chester.

Bate, Thomas, J.P., Kelsterton, Flint.

Baxter, Miss, Sandown Park, Wavertree, Liverpool.

Beamont, W., Orford Hall, Warrington.

Beswick, H., 80, Foregate Street, Chester.

Birch, H. J., Liverpool Road, Chester.

Bostock, R. C., Tormore, Oakfield Road, Croydon, Surrey.

Brown, Charles, The Folly, Flookersbrook, Chester.

Brown, F. F., M.A., Eastgate Row, Chester.

Brown, H. T., J.P., Watergate House, Chester.

Brown, Miss, Richmond Bank, 148, Boughton, Chester.

Brown, Miss L. E., The Folly, Flookersbrook, Chester.

Brown, W. E., Bouverie Street, Chester.

Brushfield, Dr. T. N., Budleigh Salterton, Exeter.

Bullin, F., J.P., 22, Nicholas Street, Chester.

Burton, Mrs. Lingen, Abbey House, Shrewsbury.

Campbell, Rev. E. A. Pitcairn, M.A., Vicar's Cross, Chester.

Campbell, Mrs. Pitcairn, Vicar's Cross, Chester.

Campbell, Miss H. Pitcairn, Vicar's Cross, Chester.

Cartwright, J. P., The Elms, Flookersbrook, Chester.

Chester, The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, D.D., F.S.A., The Palace.

Conway, W., 4, Liverpool Road, Chester.

Cooper, Rev. Canon, M.A., The Rectory, Tarporley.

Cox, Edward W., The Old Hall, Flookersbrook, Chester.

Cox, Rev. Thomas, The Hollies, Upton Park, Chester.

Crockett, Mrs., 15, Hough Green, Chester.
 Cullimore, John, The Friars, Chester.
 Cummings, Miss, 9, King's Buildings, Chester.
 Cunliffe, Lady, Acton Park, Wrexham.

Darby, J. L., D.D., The Very Rev., Dean of Chester.
Davies-Colley, Dr. T., J.P., Newton, Chester.
 Deeley, W. C., Curzon Park, Chester.
 Dickson, F. A., J.P., West Kirby, Liverpool.
 Dickson, George A., J.P., Springfield, Chester.
 Dobie, Dr. W. M., 23, Upper Northgate Street, Chester.
 Douglas, C. P., 5, Stanley Place, Chester.
 Douglas, J., Abbey Square, Chester.
 Drury, Captain R. C., Abbotsfield, Chester.
 Dutton, C., J.P., Queen's Park, Chester.
 Dutton, H. B., Curzon Park, Chester.
 Dutton, John Rowe, Bridge Street, Chester.

Earwaker, J. P., M.A., F.S.A., Pensarn, Abergele, N. Wales.
 Eaton, Rev. Canon, M.A., West Kirby and Abbey Square, Chester.
 Edwards, J. W. P., 133, Richmond Place, Boughton, Chester.
 Egerton of Tatton, The Right Hon. Lord, Tatton Park, Knutsford.
 Ennion, T., Newmarket, Suffolk.
 Evans-Lloyd, Lieutenant-Colonel, 3, Stanley Place, Chester.
 Ewen, I. E., Bridge Street Row, Chester.
 Ewen, Miss, Eccleston, Cheshire.

Feilden, Miss, Mollington Hall, Chester.
 Ffoulkes, His Honour Judge Wynne, J.P., Upper Northgate Street, Chester.
 Finchett-Maddock, T., J.P., Abbey Square, Chester.
 Fletcher, P. H., Curzon Park, Chester.
 Fordham, D. P., Abbey Square, Chester.
 France-Hayhurst, Lieutenant-Col. C. H., J.P., Bostock Hall, Middlewich.
 Frater, George, 3, Lorne Street, Chester.
 Frost, R., J.P., Lime Grove, Queen's Park, Chester.
 Frost, Sir T. G., Knt., J.P., Queen's Park, Chester.

Gamon, J., St. Werburgh's Mount, Chester.
 Gamon, Mrs., The Rough, Curzon Park, Chester.
 Gardner, W. A., Redland House, Hough Green, Chester.
 Garnett, W., Bridge Street Row, Chester.
 Gleadowe, Rev. Canon, M.A., The Vicarage, Neston.
 Gleadowe, T. S., M.A., Alderley Edge.
 Grantham, Rev. H., St. Mary's Rectory, Chester.
 Griffith, G. R., Plaiderie, 30, Hough Green, Chester.
 Griffith, Mrs. G. R., Plaiderie, 30, Hough Green, Chester.

Griffith, J., Upton Park, Chester.
 Griffith, Rev. C. B., M.A., Stoak Vicarage, Chester.
 Griffith, The Hon. Mrs. Bodvel, Stoak Vicarage, Chester.

Haddington, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Ardern Hall, Tarporley.
 Haining, Dr., 82, Foregate Street, Chester.
 Hall, J. H. A., The Old Bank House, Chester.
 Hall, Mrs. J. H. A., The Old Bank House, Chester.
 Hamel, Miss Annette, Abbey Street, Chester.
 Hassall, H., Bridge Street, Chester.
 Hayes, Mrs., Chester House, Worcester.
 Hewitt, John, 117, Boughton, Chester.
 Hignett, Mrs. T. H., 18, Hough Green, Chester.
 Hignett, Mrs. Thomas, 14, Hough Green, Chester.
 Hillyard, Rev. Canon, M.A., Okeford Rectory, Bampton, Devon.
 Hobday, J., Liverpool Road, Chester.
 Hodges, W., Eastgate Row, Chester.
 Hodkinson, Edward, Pepper Street, Chester.
 Holmes, J. G., Curzon Park, Chester.
 Holt, Miss E. S., Balham House, Balham Hill, London, S.W.
 Howard, Mrs. Robert, Broughton Hall, Malpas.
 Howson, Rev. F., M.A., New Brighton, Birkenhead.
 Howson, Miss, Egerton House, Chester.
 Howson, Miss A. M., Egerton House, Chester.
 Hughes, Professor T. McKenny, M.A., F.S.A., &c., Cambridge.
Hughes, T., F.S.A., 20, The Groves, Chester.
Hughes, T. Cann, B.A., 20, The Groves, Chester.
 Humberston, Miss, Newton Hall, Chester.
Humberston, Philip S., J.P., Glan-y-wern, Denbigh.

Ingall, General W. L., C.B., J.P., Queen's Park, Chester.

Jackson, Miss, 11, Black Friars, Chester.
 Johnson, M., Lorne Street North, Chester.
 Johnson, W., J.P., Broughton Hall, Chester.
 Jones, H. Watson, Grosvenor Park Road, Chester.
 Jones, I. Matthews, M.I.C.E., City Surveyor, Town Hall, Chester.

Kenyon, The Hon. and Rev. W. Trevor, M.A., Malpas Rectory, Whitchurch.
 Knowles, E. R., Grosvenor Street, Chester.
 Kyrke, R. Venables, J.P., Pen-y-wern, Mold.

Lamont, Alexander, Eastgate Street North, Chester.
 Lamont, Alexander, Jun., Eastgate Street North, Chester.
 Lee, Rev. M. H., M.A., Hanmer, Whitchurch, Salop.
 Leyfield, J., Eccleston.

Liverpool Free Library, Liverpool.
Lloyd, His Honour Judge Horatio (Recorder of Chester), Sandown Terrace.
Lockwood, T. M., F.R.I.B.A., 80, Foregate Street, Chester.
Lowe, James F., B.A., Assay Office, Chester.

Manning, Alfred J., New York and Irvington on Hudson.
Manning, J. B., Governor's House, Wakefield.
Marston, Rev. E., M.A., 82, Watergate Flags, Chester.
McEwen, Mrs., 26, Nicholas Street, Chester.
Mesham, Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur, J.P., Pontryffydd, Bodfari, Rhyl.
Mills, John, Eastgate Row, Chester.
Minshull, Charles Howard, Abbey Square, Chester.
Minshull, Edward, Northgate, Chester.

Nicholson, James, F.S.A., Thelwall Hall, Warrington.

Okell, W. H., 1, Northgate Street, Chester.
Ould, E. A., 3, Chichester Street, Chester.

Parkins, W. Trevor, M.A., Glasfryn, Gresford.
Peacock, Miss, 10, Hough Green, Chester.
Phillipson, John, Liverpool Road, Chester.
Pinches, R., White Friars, Chester.
Potts, Arthur, J.P., Hoole Hall, Chester.
Potts, C. W., Heron Bridge, Chester.
Potts, F., Northgate Street, Chester.
Powell, T. J., 14, Newgate Street, Chester.
Preston, Rev. G., M.A., The King's School, Chester.
Price, Paul, 54, Northgate Street, Chester.
Pritchard, Thomas, Trinity Street, Chester.
Pritchard, W., 17, Watergate Row (South), Chester.
Pritchard, Mrs., 17, Watergate Row (South), Chester.
Pullan, Miss, Watergate Row (North), Chester.

Redhead, R. Milne, Springfield, Seedley, Manchester.
Rigby, Samuel, J.P., Fern Bank, Liverpool Road, Chester.
Rimmer, Alfred, Crook Street, Chester.
Roberts, B. C., J.P., Oakfield, Upton, Chester.
Roberts, T. Quelllyn, J.P., Watergate Street, Chester.
Roberts, T., 9, Upper Northgate Street, Chester.
Roberts, W., The Northgate, Chester.
Robins, Rev. G. A., M.A., The Rectory, Eccleston.
Robinson, J. C., Old Bank, Chester.
Rogers, James, 21, Black Friars, Chester.
Royle, T. R. P., Hough Green House, Chester, and Belle Vue, Rhyl.
Royle, T. V., Curzon Park, Chester.

Rylands, John Paul, F.S.A., Heather Lee, Claughton, Birkenhead.
 Rylands, T. G., F.S.A., Highfields, Thelwall, Warrington.
 Rylands, W. H., F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, London, W.C.

Salford Free Library, Peel Park, Manchester.
 Schröeder, W. G., 22, Chichester Street, Chester.
 Scotland, Colonel D., Eccleston Hill, Chester.
 Scott, Rev. S. Cooper, M.A., St. John's Rectory, Chester.
 Shepheard, Thomas, F.R.M.S., Bridge Street Row, Chester.
 Shone, W., F.G.S., Watergate Street, Chester.
 Shrubsole, G. W., F.G.S., Northgate Street, Chester.
 Siddall, J. D., 19, Eaton Road, Chester.
 Smith, C. R., F.S.A., &c., Temple Place, Stroud, Kent.
 Smith, Samuel, 16, Nicholas Street, Chester.
 Stivens, J. C., 15, Abbey Street, Chester.
 Stolterfoth, Henry, M.A., M.D., 60, Watergate Street, Chester.
 Stolterfoth, Mrs., 60, Watergate Street, Chester.

Tatlock, John, 21, St. John Street, Chester.
 Taylor, Captain R. Massie, J.P., Tyn Llwyn, Corwen.
 Taylor, Henry, 12, Curzon Park, Chester.
 Taylor, J. Burnside, 4, Hough Green, Chester.
 Taylor, James, F.R.C.S., 18, Newgate Street, Chester.
 Taylor, Miss M. H., 4, Curzon Park, Chester.
 Thomas, Dr. E. J. Haynes, Pepper Street, Chester.
 Thomas, E., Pepper Street, Chester.
 Thomas, F. P. D., 18, Pepper Street, Chester.
 Thomson, J. R., Bank House, St. Werburgh Street, Chester.
 Tilston, Miss, 1, King's Buildings, Chester.

Vawdrey, B. Ll., J.P., Tushingham Hall, Whitchurch, Salop.
 Vincent, W., 73, Bouverie Street, Chester,

Wakefield, Thomas, Parkgate Road, Chester.
 Walker, Alfred O., J.P., F.L.S., The Leadworks, Chester.
 Walker, Mrs. A. O., The Leadworks, Chester.
 Warburton, R. E. Egerton, J.P., Arley Hall, Northwich.
Westminster, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., Eaton Hall.
 White, Miss, 5, Abbey Street, Chester.
 Wilbraham, Miss, King's Buildings, Chester.
 Williams, D. A. V. Colt, Richmond House, Boughton, Chester.
 Williams, James, County Auditor, Tarvin Road, Chester.
 Williams, Rev. John, M.A., Cheyney Road, Chester.
 Williams, William, Stone Bridge, Chester.
Wood, J. M., Newton, Middlewich.
 Wood, Thomas, Bridge Street, Chester.



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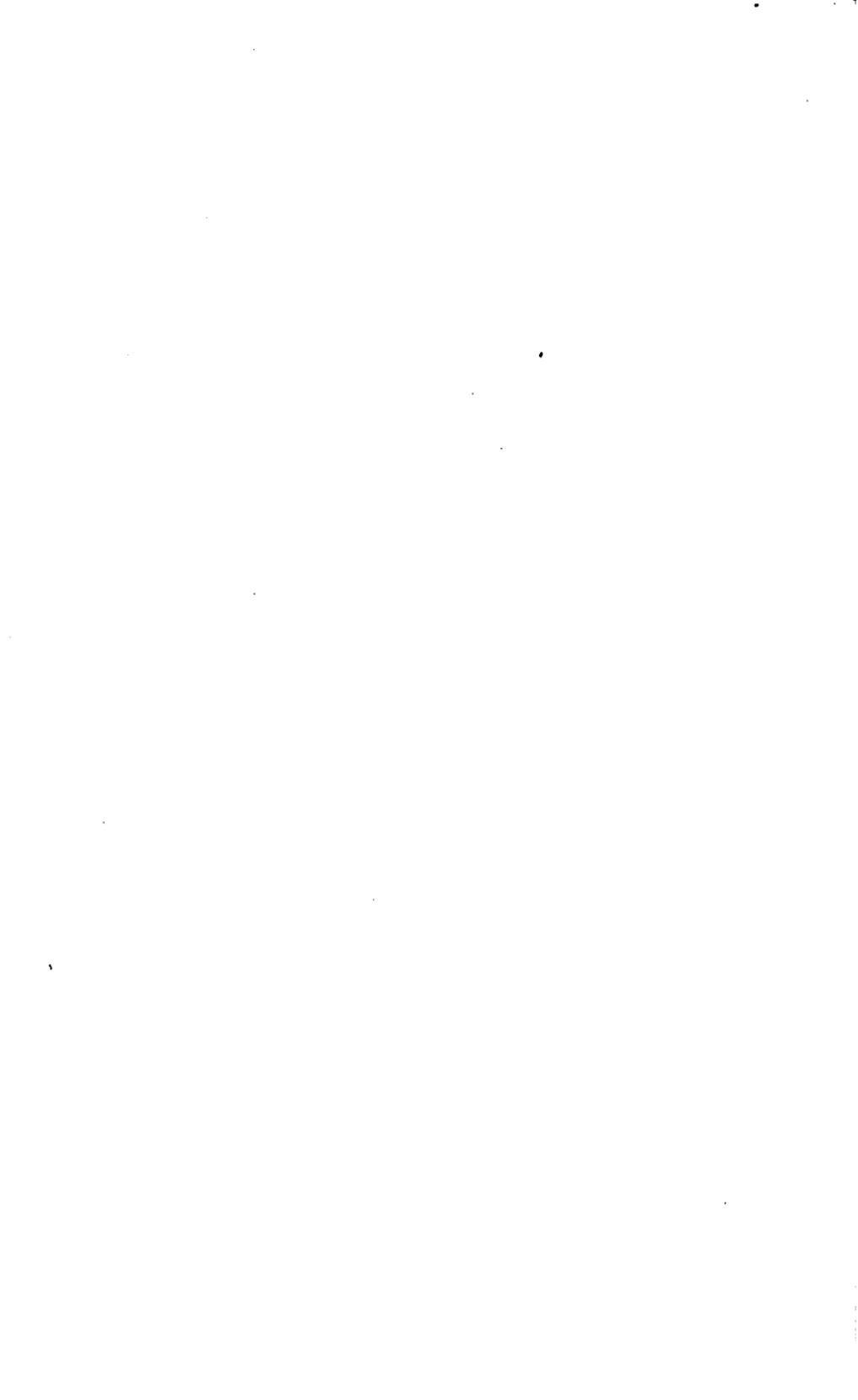
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